The Book Notes feature that appears in each issue of this journal offers a fascinating array of recent publications. These studies treat mission-related topics in the wide sense of God’s mission of making all things new (Rev. 21:5).

Space limitations prevent highlighting all of the books listed in this issue; here I mention three. First is Won Sang Lee’s Pastoral Leadership: A Case Study, including Reference to John Chrysostom (Wipf & Stock, 2015). This self-critical examination compares, in a unique and bold way, Lee’s own leadership characteristics with those of John Chrysostom, fourth-century preacher and archbishop of Constantinople. Sverre Bagge’s Cross and Scepter: The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms from the Vikings to the Reformation (Princeton Univ. Press, 2014) analyzes the half-millennium-long development of churches and states in modern-day Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Robert William Keith Wilson, in George Augustus Selwyn (1809–1878): Theological Formation, Life, and Work (Ashgate, 2014), meticulously examines the person some experts regard as the most prominent nineteenth-century High Anglican missionary-churchman.

Each of these studies sheds light on particular historical developments in Christian mission. Their historical locations vary from fourth-century Asia Minor to medieval Scandinavia to nineteenth-century England and New Zealand to today’s Republic of Korea and the United States. But no matter when or where, Christian mission always takes place within the rough-and-tumble, concrete world of economic, social, ethnic, linguistic, and political history. Continued next page
Along with exhibiting the historical embeddedness of Christian mission—that is, its interwovenness within the fabric of world history—these studies also demonstrate the uniquely religious aspects of Christian mission. Won Sang Lee, John Chrysostom, Scandinavian churches, and George Augustus Selwyn all manifest specifically religious features that are irreducible to other categories of explanation, such as economic categories. The articles in this issue point to the dualistic mind-set of Ethiopian evangelical Christians can be involved intermingled historical and spiritual forces, and the dualistic mind-set of Ethiopian evangelical Christians can be traced to influences that are both religious (Ethiopian Orthodoxy and expatriate Protestant) and political-ideological (the Communist Derg regime). The biographical articles featuring Henry Bucher, Eva Dykes Spicer, and Horace Grant Underwood also reveal multifaceted characteristics, including distinctively religious factors of faith.

Nineteenth-century German distinctions between Historie (events themselves), Geschichte (the significance of events), and Heilsgeschichte (the salvific importance of events), as well as a Hegelian dialectic, have proven helpful to many analysts. A better approach to the interrelationship between Christian mission and history is that of “integrated differentiation,” or “differentiated integration.” This approach enables the analysis of differentiated aspects (religious, social, economic, linguistic, ethnic, time-space setting, and so forth) of persons or events on their own specific terms, while intuitively holding those aspects together in unity. One can thus, for example, examine the specifically spiritual, genealogical, sociological, and other differentiated aspects of Bucher, Spicer, Underwood, Chrysostom, Lee, and Selwyn, while also understanding those individuals as integrated human beings. For people with a more comprehensively unified outlook on reality—that is, persons fundamentally unaffected by European-Enlightenment scientific analysis—the question of the relationship of Christian mission with history or with the affairs of this mundane world might not even arise. For such persons, all of reality is seamlessly integrated, with permeable boundaries between the invisible and visible or between what is spiritual and what is more tangible, everyday life. Christian mission simply takes place as part of this more richly populated and integrated universe.

However differently each of us might analyze and explain precisely how Christian mission is interwoven with the fabric of world history, it is helpful to note that, while the Book Notes (and book reviews) in every issue of IBMR span throughout historical periods, the articles in this particular issue relate to people, events, and organizations of the last two centuries. The articles thus provide various examples of how missionaries, churches, and mission organizations have functioned in relation to the transition from the modern Western mission movement to the current multidirectional, worldwide mission movement. Christian mission has always had to adjust to such pivotal and epochal changes. May this issue cast further light on our ongoing journey of navigating the sometimes choppy waters of historical currents, while participating in God’s worldwide mission.

—J. Nelson Jennings
Progressive Pentecostalism, Development, and Christian Development NGOs: A Challenge and an Opportunity

Bryant L. Myers

Something unusual happened in the Global South in the late 1980s and 1990s. A new expression of Pentecostalism arose that was distinguished by a combination of Pentecostal worship, aggressive evangelism, and grassroots efforts to provide education, health services and other relief, and development ministries. The phenomenon has attracted the attention of secular scholars. Their research makes the claim that, in five instances, these churches were better positioned and more effective in development work than international NGOs at work in the same city. This article will describe and assess these findings and then apply them to Christian development NGOs.

A Historical Convergence

A significant shift took place in the 1980s in terms of thinking about development assistance. In the aftermath of the success and eventual dominance of neoliberal economics, Western governments and global aid institutions decided that neoliberal principles were a desirable antipoverty prescription for the Global South. World Bank and International Monetary Fund loans were made conditional on what became known as the Washington Consensus, which consisted of reducing public expenditures, extensive privatization of government businesses and services, trade liberalization, floating exchange rates, and deregulation.

This shift may have made some macroeconomic sense over the long term, but in the short term and at the microeconomic level, where the poor live, it was a disaster in the Global South. Reforming labor markets meant decreasing minimum wages. Reducing public expenditures led to reduced health services and to imposing fees for what used to be public services. Public schools were forced to charge school fees, something that Western nations do not do. The result was that tens of millions of poor children in the Global South were unable to go to school. Health huts had neither health workers nor medicines. The Washington Consensus was not good news for the poor.

But something else was going on in the 1980s in sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the Global South, and it was good news for the poor. What some have called the third movement of the charismatic/Pentecostal movement, or Neo-Pentecostalism, emerged in poor urban slums in Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia. This was a self-generating expression of Pentecostalism that emerged from the grass roots, was deeply contextual, and was generally nondenominational or postdenominational.

Part of this new Pentecostal movement has been called “Progressive Pentecostalism.” One of its characteristics is a deep commitment to social ministries organized around the congregation and its neighborhood or village. In a search for a pool of churches for a sociological study of Pentecostalism and social engagement, Donald Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori sought the names of churches, Pentecostal or not, that were “fastest growing, most indigenous, self-supporting and socially active.” Eighty-five percent of the churches nominated from around the world were in fact Pentecostal or charismatic.

The social ministries of these churches had substantial reach. Mercy ministries provided food, clothing, and shelter. Emergency services included responding to floods, famines, and earthquakes. Educational services included day care, schools, and tuition assistance. Counseling services included helping with addiction, divorce, and oppression. Economic development assistance included micro-loans, supporting business start-ups, job training, and affordable housing. No one church provided all these services, but there was clear evidence that this kind of relief and development assistance was a normative part of the life of Progressive Pentecostal and charismatic churches. It was in part a product of Spirit empowerment made urgent by the belief that Christians are living in the last days.

These findings attracted the attention of academics in anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies. Examining Pentecostalism in depth is a new thing to many anthropologists and sociologists, and discovering that Pentecostals were doing relief and development work simply added to the interest. Refreshingly, these largely secular academics were generally sympathetic to their research subjects, although many work very hard to repack-age what they hear and see into modern Western sociological and anthropological frameworks.

For example, one frequently hears the argument that Pentecostal churches began providing basic services in health, education, and economic development as a way of filling the social space vacated by governments whose ability to provide these services was diminished by the impact of the Washington Consensus. Similarly, some noted that these services were paid for by tithes, which were described as Pentecostal-speak for “tax.” Also, frequent reference occurs to Pentecostalism as a creature of modernity and a feeder school for neoliberal globalization.

Such readings smack of “finding what you are looking for” on the part of academics who are deeply influenced by the assumptions of the Western academy. Ogbu Kalu wryly observed, “The ordinary Pentecostal in Africa is less concerned with modernity and globalization and more focused on a renewed relationship with God, intimacy with the transcendental, empowerment by the Holy Spirit and protection in the blood of Jesus as the person struggles to eke out a viable life in a hostile environment.”

The one thing these researchers openly declare as being beyond their explanatory frameworks is the affective nature of Pentecostal worship—filled with prayer, singing, Spirit visitations, prophecies, healings, and deliverance from demons—all part of a member’s direct and personal experiences with God during the week and on every Sunday. The researchers describe this “emotional exuberance” as honestly as they can. But beyond this observation, their modern Western framework allows them to say no more.

What have these scholars found in their ethnographies that

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might be of interest to Christian NGOs and their staff? What follows is drawn from research done in West Africa, as well as some from East Africa and Central America. Because the research base consists of a relatively small number of ethnographic studies of Progressive Pentecostal churches spread over a number of countries, I wish to avoid overgeneralizing and encourage the reader to do the same.

Nonetheless, the bits and pieces that have emerged over the last ten or so years present some new news for most academics who study development as well as for practitioners. These findings may provoke new thinking and further research, particularly by missiologists, as we try to make sense of this new reality within the global church.

**Progressive Pentecostalism and Development**

Before trying to summarize what these studies report regarding Progressive Pentecostal thinking about development, we need to remember that Pentecostals do not begin with thinking. Instead, they begin with affective worship, rituals, and lived experience. Thus, one cannot speak of a Progressive Pentecostal theology of poverty or of development in general terms—at least not at this point in time.

Three broad generalizations emerge from what is heard in Pentecostal worship and from what is said by Pentecostals who are doing development work as part of their Spirit-empowered faith. These findings stand in stark contrast to what one reads and hears from evangelical, mainline, or Catholic development agencies.

First, one thing that these largely secular researchers find intriguing is Progressive Pentecostal formulations about what development is and why it is needed. Dena Freeman, an anthropologist at the London School of Economics, describes the churches in her study as framing development not as an issue of social justice or human rights, but as a question of what God wants for Africa: “A continent blessed with health, wealth and abundance, where people work hard, pray hard and live upright moral lives.”

The cause of poverty is equally surprising: Underdevelopment, poverty, and suffering are what the devil wants for Africa. Correspondingly, development is understood as a war against the devil and demons, not a war against poverty or unjust social structures, as we tend to frame development in the West. International development NGOs, including most Christian agencies, may be fighting a war against poverty and injustice, but Progressive Pentecostal churches are fighting against the devil and his commitment to diminishing life.

Second, this recent research suggests a new geography of development. Charles Piot, a cultural anthropologist at Duke University, argues that in West Africa, the rural/urban geographic framework has been reimagined to reflect the kind of “theology” of poverty and development I have just described. The village is now the place of traditional religion, of angry ancestors, and of demon possession. The village is where you were poor. The churches in urban centers, in contrast, are where villagers came to faith and are baptized by the Holy Spirit. These urban Christian communities replace your village and deliver you from your traditional world. So turn your back on your traditional culture and step into a new culture of empowerment by the Spirit, a culture of freeing experience with God, who desires and empowers you for a new and better future. Piot argues that there is a new “development imaginary” in play.

There is a deep irony here. This new development imaginary echoes what modernization theory has always argued—development requires leaving traditional culture and values behind and adopting more modern values—by which is meant those of the modern West. But this new call for leaving tradition behind is indigenous to the Global South and its Pentecostal churches.

Third, combining the work of Piot with that of Mennonite sociologist Robert Brenneman, Miller and Yamamori, and Dena Freeman, it is possible to formulate a conceptual framework for the Progressive Pentecostal view of individual and social transformation. (See fig. 1.)

First, the Progressive Pentecostal church is an aggressively evangelistic community that uses modern technology and marketing tools to get its message of salvation into Satan’s world of traditional religion and sinful behaviors that are immoral and that diminish household income—drinking, womanizing, and the like. This is Satan’s strategy for keeping you poor. The good news is that the Gospel of Jesus Christ can deliver you from this fallen world.

Second, conversion is personal, affective, exuberant, and accompanied by signs and wonders. Healing and deliverance are now lived realities, with both personal and social consequences. You become aware that you are loved personally by God and that God desires you to become fully human and to live a full life. Your personal story is redirected; you become an active agent in your world.

Third, Pentecostalism “demands and legitimizes radical behavior change.” Personal holiness matters. As new creations, with new moral behaviors that do not drain household incomes, and the promise that God intends you to prosper, believers go back into the world as newly empowered witnesses, expecting new and better futures.

Fourth, with a new transformative religion—emotionally renewed during the week and every Sunday—you are disconnected from the change-resistant nature of traditional religion. The churches provide training in the life skills and work habits conducive to modern urban economic life. Thus empowered, the Pentecostal believer is expected to prosper, tithe and give generously, and be an evangelist.

This framework describes a virtuous cycle that is inseparably material, psychological, and spiritual in nature. Freeman concludes, “Pentecostal and charismatic churches create new social, economic and moral structures and act to transform both the subjectivities and lifestyles of their followers.”

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**Figure 1. Progressive Pentecostal Transformative Framework**

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116

International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 39, No. 3
The optimistic tone of this proposal needs to be qualified in a number of important ways, beyond the obvious concern for overgeneralization mentioned earlier. Pentecostal scholars from the Global South such as Nimi Wariboko and Samuel Zalanga are concerned that the Pentecostal role in economic development in Africa may be more ambiguous than it first appears.

- The ambiguous nature of the “prosperity gospel” proposal is well known. The misuses are well reported, but it also has the potential for being good news for the poor.²⁴
- Framing the cause of poverty as the work of Satan and the demonic provides a convenient fig leaf for the people and institutions that are responsible for corruption, bad development policy, and unfair economic practices and policies.²⁵ Will blaming the demonic, while ignoring social structures of inequality and violence, and offering a new identity, while ignoring the role of structural violence in diminishing identity in the first place, result in a Progressive Pentecostalism that simply sustains a status quo that both creates and sustains poverty?²⁶
- The ambiguous relationship between Progressive Pentecostal development work and modern science is also cause for concern.²⁷ Germs and improved seeds reduce poverty as positively as does dealing with demons or curses. Is there a trajectory of convergence, or are the people being forced to make unnecessary choices?
- Finally, the long-term impact of this recently reported work is unknown. Will it prove to be sustainable and transformational?

Keeping these legitimate questions in mind, one feature of this proposal is nonetheless worthy of serious attention and further research: the factor of personal transformation.

**Personal Transformation: Recovery of Identity**

This research brings the issue of personal transformation into focus as an important element of social transformation. Development literature has many references to a subjective, debilitating internalization of poverty and oppression that seems to be the primary driver for fatalism and unwillingness to believe that a better future is possible or even permitted.

Jayakumar Christian and I have written elsewhere about a phenomenon we termed “marred identity”—the internalization of the impact of chronic poverty and sustained oppression, which result in reduced agency, risk avoidance, and resistance to change.²⁸ Stigma literature refers to the need to mitigate what is called “spoiled identity.”²⁹ Ann Cudd argues that the dynamics of oppression in the form of economic, political, and symbolic coercion are the means by which this diminished or degraded sense of identity is formed.³⁰

Jayakumar Christian’s use of the phrase “marred identity” allowed us to go beyond simply describing the psychological result of oppression. We also wanted to assert the important theological affirmation of the true identity of every human being—known by God, loved by God, and made in the image of God. Suffering from marred identity is a bad thing, but not knowing that this marred identity is not what God intends, or failing to announce that God has a solution for marred identity, is even worse.

For most practitioners, addressing this embedded sense of powerlessness is one of the most difficult challenges when working with the poor and oppressed. Sadly, there have been few offerings as to what one can do to address this problem. At this point the research on Progressive Pentecostal churches and their work among the poor has something fresh to say. The simple fact that the Holy Spirit of God chooses to visit and revisit the poor through Spirit baptism, healings, deliverances, prophecies, and miracles is itself an affirmation of the true identity of the poor.

Piot argues that Pentecostal churches in West Africa are “narrative machines . . . a brilliant generator of intensities and affects: of joy and happiness, of confidence and pride, of feelings of empowerment and importance, of optimism and hope.”³¹ This is a result of Pentecostalism’s transcendent, affective worship that focuses on personal transformation—a change in how people view themselves.

Drawing on the separate ethnographies of three of her researchers, Freeman reports that new Pentecostal Christians “begin to see themselves as part of God’s people, a ‘somebody’ rather than a ‘nobody,’ a victor, not a victim. Most important, they begin to move beyond a passive fatalism and come to realize that they have agency in their lives.”³²

Brenneman reports on what he calls “identity reconstruction,” which occurs when former gang members become part of a Pentecostal community and find a solution to the chronic shame that drove them into gangs in the first place.³³ In a similar vein, David Martin reports on “a revision of consciousness”; and David Maxwell, on the “remaking of the individual.”³⁴ The bottom line is that a number of ethnographic studies have noted that Pentecostal worship and its sense of new community can be an antidote to marred identity.

In Pentecostal churches in Ghana, the issue of recovering identity is also directly connected to how the Bible is used. Paul Gifford, professor emeritus at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, describes how the Bible as a source of the living word of God, empowered by the Holy Spirit, comes to tell you who you really are.³⁵ Gifford reports that the Bible functions as a repository of narratives about God and particularly the miraculous. Yet, he says, it is not the miraculous itself that is the focus, but rather the stories that illustrate God’s desire and ability to intervene in the believer’s life and to prosper him or her.³⁶ The Bible contains living stories of what God can and wants to do today.

For most evangelicals, the Bible is the Word of God and the rule for life and thus the foundation of our theology. For Pentecostals, however, the Bible is a source of new being and transformed identity, the promise of a new life and a new better future today.

**Churches’ Effectiveness vs. International NGOs**

Dena Freeman’s primary goal in *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs, and Social Change in Africa* is to explore the role of five Progressive Pentecostal churches in Africa and to compare the development effectiveness of those churches to that of an international NGO in the same city. A weakness in the research...
is that none of the researchers were part of the development-studies world, nor did any of them have extensive practical experience in development. Assessment tools such as impact evaluations are largely missing. Conclusions on impact and sustainability and, hence, effectiveness are thus not always as well supported as they need to be. But the comparative work on worldview and cultural values and also on personal transformation is more robust.

The rather unexpected conclusion from Freeman’s five case studies is that “Pentecostal churches seem to be rather more successful in bringing about change that is effective, deep-rooted and long lasting.” Some of the reasons cited were predictable, based on what we have already seen, and others shed new light.

- These churches are independently led. Language, culture, and worldview do not present themselves as complicating issues for project leadership to struggle with, as they do for international NGOs.
- The development work of local churches is funded from within the church through tithes, while international NGOs bring in money from the outside, along with all the accountability requirements that accompany such funds.
- Churches insist on new moral behaviors that are generally “pro-developmental”—no drinking, partying, or womanizing. Unhelpful cultural practices and traditional religion are challenged. International NGOs avoid addressing these kinds of issues in order to avoid charges of cultural imperialism.

The bottom line for the better performance of these churches, Freeman concludes, is that, at their best, “Neo-Pentecostal churches are embedded institutions that change people and their narratives, alter moral behavior and create new meaning, vision and hope for the future.”

At a deeper level, the differences in effectiveness may be related to differing views of the world and how it works, of what poverty is, what causes it, and how poverty should be addressed. These ethnographies suggest that Progressive Pentecostal churches view poverty and the better human future in ways that are more in line with the poor they serve. This stands in stark contrast to the worldviews, and especially the ontologies, of NGOs.

- For these churches, the problem of poverty is spiritual, and the solutions come from the Holy Spirit, repentance, worship, and holy living. For the (secular) international NGO, the problem of poverty is material and is thus best addressed with money, technology, and good public policy.
- For the churches, the adversary is Satan and traditional religion. To the secular NGO, the adversary is lack of education and unjust structures and systems.
- For the churches, the world is an “enchanted place,” where the central issue is managing power, especially spiritual power. For the secular NGO, the world is a material place that can be improved by reason and science.
- For the churches, the best human future is being reconciled to God and loving one’s neighbor. For the secular NGO, the better human future is some form of material well-being.

Freeman then posits something even more seminal than issues of worldview and culture. The key to the effectiveness of these churches is their ability to trigger what Freeman calls “personal transformation”—the transformation of marred identity, which we discussed above.

A number of Freeman’s researchers point out that Pentecostal worship experiences result in converts re-creating their identity in ways that lead them to no longer accept fatalistic beliefs or remain passive in terms of the future. In other words, they discover that they are of personal interest to God and thus have value. They discover that they are intended for a better future by God and that God will empower them to act to change their world.

Freeman concludes, “While Pentecostals seek to bring about personal transformation, the international NGOs tend to think more of the community level and structural change. When it comes to bringing about social and economic change, it seems that approaches that focus on individuals are rather more effective.” Freeman goes on to note that international NGOs lack both the tools and the theory to address the challenge of personal transformation. This is a remarkably honest insight from a secular source and a very important one for any Christian NGO.

What about Christian NGOs?

One wonders whether Christian NGOs are significantly different from the international NGOs that Freeman and her colleagues studied. Would Church World Service or Caritas be as effective as these Progressive Pentecostal churches were found to be? While Freeman did not examine any explicitly Christian NGOs, other studies have been done that might help us draw some tentative, if somewhat speculative, conclusions on this issue.

In his important work on gangs in Central America, Robert Brenneman noted a contrast between the way the Catholic Church addressed the gang problem compared to that of the urban Pentecostal churches he studied. For those interviewed within the Catholic community, the causes of the gang problem were the structural issues of poverty, poor education, unemployment, and abusive families. For the small Progressive Pentecostal urban churches, the gang problem was understood as a result of sin and Satan. As a consequence, their respective solutions differed. The Catholic gang ministries focused on gang prevention—working for justice, development, and advocacy. In contrast, the Progressive Pentecostal churches focused on gang recovery—through evangelism, baptism by the Holy Spirit, and the requirement of new moral behaviors.

My personal experience is similar. Catholic and mainline development agency personnel often reflect their Western heritage and the view of their Western funding agencies, with the Western two-tiered spiritual/material ontology. Thus Satan, demons, and spirits are seldom mentioned. The role of the Holy Spirit is understood more as a historical or future phenomenon or is ignored altogether, except as a personal concern. The miraculous and evangelism are viewed with some concern or even suspicion.

While I am sure there are exceptions, it may be the case that Catholic or mainline Protestant development agencies are not all that distinguishable from their secular international counterparts when seen from the perspective of the poor they serve. This is a hypothesis that requires additional research for validation.
Implications for Evangelical Agencies

But what about evangelical development agencies such as World Relief, Tearfund, Food for the Hungry, and World Vision? Might they have a worldview that avoids some or all of the discontinuities that secular and possibly mainline or Catholic NGOs tend to have in comparison with Progressive Pentecostal churches? On this subject, there is no research of which I am aware. I can only speculate based on my experience working with World Vision.

At the theological level, there appears to be a greater degree of congruence between evangelicals and Neo-Pentecostals, but this may not be reflected as fully in practice as one might hope. Evangelical NGOs usually affirm a holistic worldview that unites the spiritual and the material, since such a view is consistent with their belief in uniting evangelism and development as part of what they call the integral or holistic Gospel. 

Progressive Pentecostals would agree, but, I suspect, for a wider range of reasons.

For most evangelical organizations, evangelism is seen as something Christians are obligated to do but, if working in a development organization, something they need to do “sensitively,” since evangelism is a taboo issue for some of the organizations’ funders and may be even for some people in the Western sectors of their own organizations. For Progressive Pentecostals, in contrast, evangelism is central, urgent, and Spirit driven; it is considered to be the central contributor to the effectiveness of development work.

The development practices of the two types of organizations have similarities, yet with differences, as well. Progressive Pentecostals are comfortable with emergent, affective, and nonlinear processes of change in which the Holy Spirit acts and people follow. Evangelicals, reflecting their captivity to modernity, tend to approach development planning in a more linear, rational frame (think “log frames” and results-based management) and to believe that technical interventions are the drivers of development change.

As we have seen, Progressive Pentecostal development work is locally owned, led, and funded. For evangelical NGOs, the funding and expertise comes from outside, and even when project leadership is done by a national, this person tends to be an urban professional (World Vision) or the pastor of one church inside the community that acts as a bridge between the NGO and the community (Compassion, Tearfund).

The bottom line is that evangelical development organizations are closer to Progressive Pentecostal churches in worldview, development theory, and practice, but with important differences—particularly related to worldview and cultural issues—that Freeman’s study suggests may provide a competitive advantage to Progressive Pentecostal churches when it comes to enabling transformational development. Again, this conclusion calls for additional research.

What Is an Evangelical Development NGO to Do?

What steps lie ahead? The most obvious place to begin is to take the steps necessary to get over the bias and, often, misunderstandings that evangelicals have about Pentecostals and charismatics and their churches. Meeting some Pentecostals and charismatics and being in fellowship is a reasonable place to start. Much commonality that is worth naming will be found once evangelicals get over their “concerns” about Pentecostalism or surrender their unspoken hope that they can make Pentecostals into just another expression of evangelicalism.

The second place to start is for evangelical agencies in the Global South to go into their cities and rural areas and seek out the kinds of Pentecostal churches described in the ethnographies mentioned in this article. Where are these churches? Who are their leaders? What are they saying to the poor? What are they doing with the poor? What might they have to offer to a sympathetic observer? Might they be potential partners who can bridge the worldview and cultural distance between the evangelical development organization and the poor?

The third place is to look inside the evangelical development organization and take seriously the work and reality of their people who work at the grass roots among the poor. Erica Bornstein, a self-professed secular Jew, studied two Christian organizations in Zimbabwe: World Vision Zimbabwe and Christian Care. Although her worldview had no room for witchcraft, she was honest enough to take it seriously because her informants did. Bornstein devoted an entire chapter to witchcraft as something that “retarded” development. She observed that while the World Vision national office leaders in the capital city of Harare did not want to hear much about witchcraft as a problem out in the development projects, responding to witchcraft was an unavoidable part of the development practice of the World Vision staff working at the grass roots.

This contrast between headquarters personnel and field workers reinforced an informal finding of an internal study I did in World Vision in the mid-1990s. I led a Christian Witness Commission made up of senior staff and members of the international board. The purpose was to determine if there was any evidence that World Vision was sliding toward secularism—a laudable exercise for any Christian NGO to do from time to time. We spent two years doing surveys and in-depth interviews, as well as reviewing country strategies, policies, plans, and evaluation reports relating to Christian witness. In one country the national office leadership affirmed the need to examine our “Christian-ness,” since, they reported, the field personnel working in their front-line programs were “out of control” and might not really be Christian. “Out of control” turned out to mean that they were Pentecostals using all the gifts of the Holy Spirit as part of their development work! Three days later, in one of the area development programs in the same country, the local project staff or field personnel also affirmed the need to examine World Vision’s “Christian-ness,” since their leadership in the capital city did not pray expecting change, did not believe that the Holy Spirit could heal, and were not convinced that demons could be banished.

I relate these incidents as a way of asking whether the bridge between the Progressive Pentecostal experience and its effectiveness in terms of improving the lives of the poor might be an unrecognized opportunity for evangelical development organizations.

Summing Up

The latter half of this article is far more anecdotal and speculative than one might like. Clearly a great deal of additional research is needed, both by Ph D. students and within Christian development agencies. It also seems as if it is time for missiologists to get in the
game. The missional impact of Christian relief and development work still needs attention. The potential for getting a better and more nuanced view on mission among the poor seems promising. It is also clear that evangelical NGOs and evangelical churches doing development work in the Global South need a change in scenery. We need to leave our evangelical sanctuaries and go visit our Pentecostal neighbors. Surely there is a lot we can learn from each other that will benefit the poor.

Finally, we evangelicals need to take Pentecostals and Pentecostal thinking and practice about empowering the poor much more seriously. We can no longer afford to warily affirm the Pentecostal commitments to the Bible, evangelism, and mission, while ignoring the unarguable role of the Holy Spirit today in enabling personal and social transformation around the world. We need to stop treating Pentecostals like somewhat odd country cousins and begin to ask ourselves if we missed out on something that God did in the last century while we were fighting our theological battles against the modern West.

Notes
1. Neoliberalism is a free-market, minimalist-government approach to the economics of a nation based on the thinking of Friedrich von Hayek and the Austrian school of economics. It is driven by a conviction that no state can know enough to manage its national economy effectively and that, in trying to increase its control of the economy, a state would continually increase its coercive power over its citizens. Neoliberalism was a reaction to the post–World War II experience in the West with a social democratic approach to political economy and its belief in a strong role for the state in the “management” of the economy. This approach lost credibility in the West during the stagflation in the West during the 1970s.
3. Dani Rodrik, “Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Scenery. We need to leave our evangelical sanctuaries and go visit our Pentecostal neighbors. Surely there is a lot we can learn from each other that will benefit the poor.
4. Peet and Hartwick, Theories of Development, 90.
7. Miller and Yamamori, Global Pentecostalism, 39–67. Amos Yong, In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 34–35, uses the term “Pentecostal progressivism.” In this article, I use the term “Progressive Pentecostalism,” although some of the studies cited use the term “Pentecostal” or “Neo-Pentecostal.” Regardless, all the churches cited are consistent with this article’s definition of Progressive Pentecostalism.
9. Ibid., 41–43.
11. In addition to authors cited in this article, related work has been reported by André Corten and Ruth A. Marshall-Fratani, Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2001); R. Andrew Chesnut, Competitive Spirits: Latin America’s New Religious Economy (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003); and Nicole Rodriguez Toulis, Believing Identity: Pentecostalism and the Mediation of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England (Oxford: Berg, 1997).
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World War I and the Decline of the First Wave of the American Protestant Missions Movement

John C. Barrett

The American missions movement has experienced two distinct waves. A first wave of effort originated in the early nineteenth century during the Second Great Awakening and largely collapsed amid theological controversy after World War I; a second wave began after World War II and continues to this day. This article examines the role played by World War I in the demise of the first wave.

The foundation of the earlier mission efforts was a consensus on the twin goals of “civilizing” and “Christianizing.” Missionaries wanted others to adopt their religious beliefs and practices and, at the same time, to embrace Western political, educational, and societal systems. The latter desires were born out of earlier attempts to convert American Indians. Puritan missionaries to the Indians strongly emphasized evangelism, yet they found that conversions seemed to require that they first “civilize” the Indians—that is, teach them colonial arts, sciences, and culture. The missionaries thus considered education, democracy, health care, and economic growth to be complementing and tightly interwoven goals of missionary work.

Driving the movement were millennial expectations about the return of Jesus Christ. Postmillennial interpretations heavily influenced the early missionaries, as many foresaw a coming epoch of reason, peace, and godliness that would pervade the earth and lead to Christ’s return. In this view, mission work would inevitably succeed because the Bible had declared Christianity would reign supreme during the millennium. The millennium was within grasp if the missionaries would but reach for it. Significantly, the rallying cry and goal of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM)—a major source of American missionary recruits between 1891 and 1920—was “The evangelization of the world in this generation.”

Crumbling Foundations

By the eve of World War I, however, the theological and strategic foundation for American mission work was under substantial pressure. Two of its key pillars, postmillennialism and the civilizing/Christianizing consensus, were crumbling. Mainline missionaries began discarding beliefs in divine intervention, spiritual salvation, and a literal millennial kingdom. Hope for societal progress remained, but it was centered on human efforts rather than divine will. “Belief in Christ’s return on the cloud was superseded by the idea of God’s kingdom in this world, which would be introduced step by step through successful labors in missionary endeavor abroad and through creating an egalitarian society at home.” The prevailing millennialism within the mainline churches, in other words, had removed any supernatural feature that stressed the workings of the Spirit in favor of the more secular civilizing advancements of education, health, technology, and democracy.

Writing in 1915, James Barton, the foreign secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM)—one of America’s largest mission boards—publicly voiced views that would have been unthinkable thirty years earlier. He asserted that missionaries no longer believed unequivocally that all non-Christian religions were false. “The modern missionary goes out with the purpose of conserving all true values in the religious thought, life, and practices of the people whom he approaches. . . . The missionary today is consciously face to face with the great national, social problems of the countries in which he is located. . . . The successful solution of these problems will produce a religious as well as a social revolution for the non-Christian world.”

The deepest and most dramatic change he noted was a secularized reinterpretation of Christian “salvation”:

At the present time, the missionary preaches salvation no less than before, but it is salvation for the life that now is—salvation to oneself and for himself, and to society and for society—salvation for the sake of the world in which he lives. It is now taken for granted that if a man is saved for the life that now is, he will be abundantly prepared for the life that is to come. Our Lord announced that his mission upon earth was to give abundant life; the modern interpretation would say that Christ came to fit men to live and to live now. Missionaries today throughout the world are preaching to non-Christians the possibility through Christ of being saved now—saved from the sin of their present and past life, saved from evil habits, evil thoughts, evil purposes—saved from the destruction of their immortal life and made fit to live among men. Little emphasis is placed upon redemption in order that one may inherit an eternal life of rest and peace with God.

Barton’s views and those of the ABCFM did not reflect the sentiments of all mission organizations. For example, Robert Speer, head of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (BFMPC), remained resolutely committed to evangelism. Yet Barton’s views highlighted the movement’s crumbling consensus on civilizing and Christianizing. When added to the changing views on millennialism, the movement’s foundation was precariously brittle as it entered World War I.

World War I and the “Failure of Christianity”

World War I had a powerful impact on the American religious landscape and, in turn, mission work. The sight of Christian nations engaged in brutal trench warfare contrasted with the secularized, postmillennial optimism that was infused into mainline Protestant beliefs. Moreover, the sight of so-called Christian nations at war challenged the hitherto unquestioned superiority of Western civilization. The doubts were summed up by the question, Has Christianity failed? Writing in 1916, Barton argued that the war’s impact on religion was greater than its impact on politics:
No political changes however great and startling can equal in significance those that the war is bringing about in the realm of religion. . . .

We all distinctly recall the question that was heard upon every side when the war had been thoroughly launched and we began to realize its significance: Has Christianity failed? This was asked not only in countries not Christian and by those who were no friends of Christianity, but in the very citadels and historic centers of the Christian church and by those who for decades had been conspicuous Christian leaders. Christian and non-Christian, believers in Christianity and its opponents, suggested, by inquiry, the failure of Christianity because it did not prevent the conflict.6

The 1919 quadrennial conference of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) was another key indicator of how deeply these doubts had spread. Founded in 1886 out of a series of student Bible study conferences led by the popular evangelist D. L. Moody, the SVM did not directly send out missionaries but recruited students to work through established mission boards. By 1920 an impressive total of 8,742 SVM recruits had served, and far more had pledged a willingness to serve. The aim of the organization’s quadrennial conference was to call students to missionary service. At the 1919 convention, however, SVM leaders were on the defensive and forced to make the case for Christianity. Speaking from the stage, Robert Speer disregarded prepared remarks and acknowledged the convention’s doubts:

There are things being said in this convention today, there are thoughts in our minds, and desires in our hearts, expressed and unexpressed in group after group which we will do well right here in the middle of this convention, and before we go, unhesitatingly, unflinchingly, to face and see through to the end. I am not going to say anything more about the worth or the failure of non-Christian faiths. I am going to open quite candidly the question that some of you have been discussing right here in these days as to whether there is worth enough in our Christian faith . . . .

There are men here in this Conference, and women too, who are saying that Christianity here in America, and as expressed by this Student Volunteer Convention, is a failure. . . .

Are these sayings true? Has the Christian religion failed? Are we failing Him? No, it has not failed. Christianity just as it is in Canada and in the United States today, imperfect, incomplete, discredited by the weakness of men, is the richest and purest and greatest power that there is in the world. The religion that we have got, short as it falls of all that Christ meant us to have, is worth carrying to all the world. . . .

No, Jesus hasn’t failed, and He isn’t going to fail, but I will tell you men and women that there is a danger of failure here tonight . . . that we ourselves may fail.9

Despite Speer’s impassioned pleas, doubts continued to deepen and spread within the SVM. One observer at its 1924 conference noted, “There was not any expression of conviction on the part of the students that the way of Jesus is the way.”10

A key point of contention between the students and the SVM’s leadership was the war. The leaders, despite pacifist hesitations, had strongly supported the war and were heavily invested in the conflict, both emotionally and spiritually.11 Robert Speer, for example, had declared, “The war was the greatest proclamation of foreign missions which we have ever heard.”12 When the harsh realities of war and its aftermath became apparent, however, students questioned the Christianity that had so strongly implored them into battle.

Theological and Missiological Changes

The disillusionment that followed the war was not limited to students but became pervasive among rank-and-file parishioners. The war dealt a near deathblow to social gospel theology, which had become widely adopted among the mainline churches; faith in unrelenting progress could no longer be held.13 Robert T. Handy, a longtime church historian at Union Theological Seminary, noted the widespread impact of the war: “Protestantism was deeply affected by the general disillusionment of the postwar decade. During the war itself, the American people, with the vigorous support of most religious leaders, maintained a spirit of high optimism. But the tide turned swiftly.” The decline of enthusiasm for the war led to “a wave of spiritual depression and religious skepticism, widespread and devastating.”14

While the war led many rank-and-file Christians into deep spiritual doubt, it prompted many mission leaders to change and politicize the goals of mission work. Ironically, the same social gospel theology that was being abandoned by the rank and file was used as the basis for a renewed call for missions. “The war hastened the redefinition of evangelization. To respond to the war, the gospel had to have a more social content.”15 Mission leaders were pressed to explain how Christian nations could engage in war against each other, and they began to recast salvation as a public social transformation rather than a private spiritual transformation. In this way, the salvation of society offered a permanent solution to the problems of war and poverty.

The expanded, politicized goals expressed by mission leaders had little chance of success, given the doubts of the laity. With the theological rug pulled out from under the movement, enthusiasm for mission work dissipated. Hans-Lukas Kieser, a historian with expertise in both Ottoman history and Protestant theology, points out, “After 1918, there was no more missionary America in the sense of the century before; no more confidence and commitment for a postmillennialist mission, a Jesus-centered building up of modern institutions and civil society. . . During and after World War I, belief in the force of faith and the nonviolent coming of the millennium seriously suffered, and the postmillennialist American mirror of history broke.”16

The consequences of the theological earthquake could be seen across many dimensions of mission work. Students, long the source of missionary recruits, were now unenthusiastic about serving.17 The ACB’s annual report lamented, “Definite decisions for such service were comparatively few. Almost without exception, the colleges were found to be in the midst of the after-the-war reaction.” The board also noted a changing attitude among the students. “Students freely admitted in interviews that their main thought was to find a career in which they could make money.”18

This experience foreshadowed a decline in recruits. In 1920 some 2,700 students offered themselves for foreign mission work, but by 1928 that figure had dwindled to just 252.19 The declining number of recruits further eroded the missionary ranks. The
ABCImissionary force, for example, peaked between 1922 and 1924 with roughly 820 missionaries worldwide; by 1927 it had declined to 762.20 The BFMPc similarly hit its peak in 1926 with 1,606 missionaries worldwide.21 Mission agencies also began struggling financially. Costs from the war had driven both the ABCFM and the BFMPc into debt. Financial contributions from churches, in similar fashion to the number of missionaries in the field, peaked in 1928 and then began to decline.22 A study by the United Stewardship Council noted an almost 40 percent decline in donations between 1921 and 1929.23 These declines contrasted sharply with the rapid growth in contributions that had characterized the period before the war.24 The ABCFM annual report of 1924 attributed the financial woes to a postwar decline in enthusiasm for mission work.

Congregationalists do not lack the means to support their mission board. The situation appears to be that the few have given generously, the many have given in pitiable amounts, or not at all. Moreover, let it be known, it has been a period of unusual expansion in the matter of home equipment. Church edifices costing unheard of amounts, commodious parish-houses, new organs, elegant stained-glass windows are in evidence on every side. We have witnessed, a noteworthy development in the staffing of the home church. In the more prosperous parishes, pastors’ assistants, education directors, social service experts, are the order of the day. All this, we recognize, is a sign of life and progress. We offer no word of censure, only of congratulation—provided there is no diminution in missionary vision and endeavor. We tremble for the church that lengthens her cords and strengthens her stakes at the expense of the men and women she sends into the sacrifice of the foreign field.25

Despite similar exhortations from other missionary leaders, contributions continued to sag, and domestic church projects held priority over foreign missions.26 The Great Depression, moreover, “threw the whole Protestant missionary enterprise in reverse.”27 Contributions and the number of missionaries serving overseas dramatically declined. Yet the problem was not merely financial. As Robert Handy noted, “Even after the disastrous effects of the economic depression had overtaken the mission boards, there was clear recognition that the problem was much more than financial, and that it had predated the economic crisis.”28

The Hocking Report and Further Decline

By the 1930s the first wave of American missionary effort had collapsed amid theological turmoil. The modernist-fundamentalist debates, present also on the mission field, came to the fore with the 1932 publication of Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen’s Inquiry after One Hundred Years.29 John D. Rockefeller Jr., heir to the Rockefeller fortune and long-time contributor to mission organizations, was concerned about the flagging enthusiasm for mission work and funded the multivolume study as a means to reassess the movement and recommend a course of action. The final report heavily criticized mission work and spoke of “the necessity that the modern mission make a positive effort, first of all to know and understand the religions around it, then to

Noteworthy

Announcing

A conference entitled “Return to Sender: American Evangelical Missions in Europe, 1830–2010” will be held July 15–16, 2015, at the Roosevelt Study Center, Middletown, the Netherlands. The conference will consider how, and whether, American evangelical missionaries in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helped bridge the differences between the two continents. For further information, see www.roosevelt.nl/sites/zt-roosevelt/files/call_for_papers_religion_conference_6.pdf.


Registration is now open for Mission Congress 2015, to be held by the United States Catholic Mission Association October 1–4, in Houston, Texas. The theme of the congress will be “Witnessing Mission: Called to Be Missionary Disciples.” For full information, see the conference website at http://uscatholicmission.org/mission-congress-2015.

Fifty years after Ad Gentes, the Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church, the Divine Word Missionaries, the Australian Association of Mission Studies, and the Yarra Theological Union will hold a commemorative symposium October 2–3, 2015, at Yarra Theological Union, Box Hill, Victoria, Australia. Plenary speakers including Gabriel Afagbe- gee (Ghana), Paul Steffen (Rome), and Steve Bevans (United States) will address achievements, new contexts, and future directions. For details, go to http://ytu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/Mission-Beyond-Ad-Gentes.pdf.

A conference entitled “Christian Mission, Cocoa, and Socio-Economic, Political, and Religious Change in Ghana” will be held October 20–21, 2015, at the Akrofi-Christaller Institute, Akropong-Akuepem, Ghana. The conference will explore the ties between the Basel Mission and the cocoa industry in Ghana, and their religious, social, and political implications. See details at www.acighana.org/site/docs/pdf/2015conferencecallforpapers.pdf.

Personalia

Appointed. Ted Esler, as president and CEO of Missio Nexus. Esler, who took up his new position on June 1, 2015, had been a member of the executive leadership of Pioneers USA and Pioneers Canada since 1999 and served in ministry in the Balkans. He succeeds Steve Moore, president of Missio Nexus since its creation in January 2012 through the merger of CrossGlobal Link and the Mission Exchange. For further information, see http://missionexus.org/president/.

Appointed. Graham Kings, an IBMR contributing editor, as mission theologian in the Anglican Communion. The purpose of the seven-year post, established in collaboration with the Church Mission Society, is “to research, stimulate, connect, and publish works of theology in the Anglican Communion, with particular focus on insights from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, in their ecumenical contexts.” Kings, who is currently bishop of Sherborne, will take up his post in July 2015. See www.missiontheologyangcom.org.
Foreign Mission work is carried on to make our Lord Jesus Christ known to all men as their Divine Savior. The ABCFM responded to the theological controversy by resoundingly choosing a modernist path. It embraced the conclusions of the Hocking Report, with its secretary, Hugh Vernon White, declaring, “The Christian mission should be a man-centered enterprise” and “The service of man [should be] the regulative aim of Christian missions.” Copies of the Hocking Report were sent to all of the ACBFM’s mission stations. Such actions, however, alienated conservatives. One of its seminary graduates in the Middle East lamented the changes.

I cannot help but wonder what St. Paul and the dedicated missionaries after him would say about the work of our contemporary American Board of Foreign Missions that supports schools which forbid the mention of Jesus Christ and teach the Gospel of Mammon and Materialism. What, in fact, would the early founders of the American missions say about today’s Board, which joins our politicians and businessmen in defense of those

**Appointed. Mutua Mahiaini**, as international president of the Navigators, which serves in more than 100 countries. Mahiaini took up his new position in April 2015, succeeding Mike Treneer. Mahiaini, who has occupied a number of Navigator leadership roles since 1981, is the first African to hold this position.


**Died. Samuel Hugh Moffett**, 98, American Presbyterian missionary, scholar, theological educator, and author, February 9, 2015, in Princeton, New Jersey. Born in Pyongyang, Korea, the son of Presbyterian missionaries, Moffett received his basic education in Korea, then returned to the United States, where he graduated from Wheaton College and Princeton Theological Seminary, and in 1945 received a Ph.D. from Yale University. In 1947 Moffett and his wife, Elizabeth Tarrant, were appointed as Presbyterian missionaries to China. Divisions within the BF MPC eventually led to a split and the creation of a much smaller, conservative organization, the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions. The BF MPC continued its decline and, by 1942, was fielding 1,134 missionaries worldwide, a 29 percent drop from its 1926 peak. Annual contributions to the board similarly declined almost 50 percent between 1924 (the peak year) and 1941. By 1958, what remained of the BF MPC became part of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations within the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the forerunner to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) which is today the largest Presbyterian denomination in the United States, with fewer than two million members. In 2014, the missionary roster of the Presbyterian Mission Agency of the PCUSA stood at roughly 170—little more than one-tenth the number fielded by the BF MPC at its peak.

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who justify or deny the Genocide and ongoing minority persecutions, lest the truth jeopardize business opportunities, covering all beneath the veil of “national security.”

The ABCFM missionary force rapidly declined from its 1922 peak of roughly 820 to 372 by 1942. The organization’s income from churches dropped 60 percent between 1928 and 1939. It never recovered. By 1960 it was still fielding only 363 missionaries—a figure comparable to the number active in 1942. In 1961 it merged with the Board of International Missions to form theUnited Church Board for World Ministries. In 1995 operations were combined with the Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) to form Global Ministries—an entity represented by roughly 40 missionaries worldwide in 2014.

The SVM, for its part, had already undergone division and a modernist makeover prior to the publication of the Hocking Report. At the 1927 convention, Sherwood Eddy, a longtime leader within the SVM, acknowledged that the current generation of students no longer sought “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” In 1928 the Moody Bible Institute withdrew from the SVM because of its increasingly liberal outlook. The move had poignant symbolism because of the connection between D. L. Moody, the founder and namesake of the Moody Bible Institute, and the SVM. By the end of the 1930s the SVM was but a shadow of its former self, employing only four people at its New York City headquarters (down from a peak of twenty-nine). Likewise in 1938 it procured only twenty-five volunteers, down from nearly 3,000 in 1920. It eventually merged with the United Student Christian Council and the Interseminary Committee in 1959 to form the National Student Christian Federation (NSCF). In 1966 the legacy entity within the NSCF, the Commission on World Missions, was disbanded.

The decline of the SVM, ABCFM, and BFMPC underscores the direct and indirect influence international politics can have on mission work. World War I presented many practical challenges to the missions movement, including increased expenses, the interruption and destruction of mission work, and a limited ability to transport materials, personnel, and information to and from the field. The war also had a tremendous, indirect impact on the missions movement by raising questions and increasing internal tensions. The prewar consensus that had guided the movement for over a century ultimately broke apart under the strain, and when it did, mission efforts ground nearly to a halt. Not until after World War II did a second wave of American mission effort begin—a movement that ironically had little connection with the first wave.

Notes


4. Not all of the missionaries were postmillennialists. D. L. Moody is a good example of a premillennialist who enthusiastically supported the missions movement.


7. Ibid., 15–16.


13. “The First World War and the malaise that followed it shattered to pieces the confidence that was an indisputable ingredient of the Social Gospel movement” (Bosch, Transforming Mission, 326).


15. Ibid., 52; Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy, 252.


29. The report was also commonly referred to as the Hocking Report after the name of the committee chairman, William Hocking.


36. E-mail correspondence with Presbyterian Mission Agency, September 6, 2014.


39. Kieser, Nearest East, 126.

40. ABCFM, 1942 Annual Report, 55.

41. ABCFM, 1932 Annual Report (Boston: ABCFM, 1932), 32.


43. E-mail correspondence with Global Ministries, October 8, 2014.


46. Ibid., 161, 180–82.
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The New Wilmington Missionary Conference, 1906–2015

David Dawson

At the dawn of the twentieth century the Protestant missionary movement in North America was growing in strength. The work of foreign missions was predominantly in the hands of denominational boards, with a majority of missionaries coming from forty women’s boards. Charles Forman writes, “In the new enthusiasm following 1890 mission work was seen by its interpreters as the essential work of the church; no church could be healthy without it.”1 This interest included a thirst for “missionary intelligence,” that is, reliable and compelling information on the progress and meaning of foreign missions that could be distributed to urban and rural homes across the United States.

Missionary cooperation on foreign fields led to the formation of dynamic organizations such as the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM, 1886), the Layman’s Missionary Movement (LMM, 1906), and the Young People’s Missionary Movement (YPMM), which, beginning in 1902, met annually at Silver Bay, Lake George, New York. These organizations recruited volunteers and directed them to denominational boards. Samuel Capen noted, “The Student Volunteer Movement has to do with providing the missionaries. The Young People’s Missionary Movement has to do with the missionary education and training of the men and women of tomorrow. The purpose of [the LMM] is to furnish more rapidly the money and to help push the work all along the line.”2

The 1904 Silver Bay Conference was attended by six persons from the United Presbyterian Church of North America (UPNA), including Charles Watson, secretary of the denomination’s Board of Foreign Missions. Watson challenged his group to stage a Silver Bay–type conference in western Pennsylvania, the heartland of the UPNA. A meeting of interested persons met in Pittsburgh the following fall, and in 1906 the first New Wilmington Missionary Conference (NWMC) convened at New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, a small town about sixty miles north of Pittsburgh. This one small stream of missionary enthusiasm continues to this day, holding its 110th annual meeting in July 2015. Once part of an array of vibrant regional missionary conferences, the NWMC is the only surviving example from that era. A participant for fifty years at “Conference” (as it is popularly called), I have attended nearly half of the NWMC meetings. A sense of their present character is best glimpsed through the NWMC website, www.nwmcmission.org.

United Presbyterian Church of North America

The United Presbyterian Church of North America was a small denomination formed in 1858 from Scottish Covenanter and Seceder traditions. It lasted only one century, merging in 1958 with the Presbyterian Church in the USA (PCUSA), a denomination ten times its size.

Entry into foreign missions for the UPNA began even in the late 1850s in Muslim lands, in the Punjab of India (after 1947: Pakistan) and in Egypt, leading to involvement in the Sudan (1900) and in Ethiopia (1920). The UPNA distinguished itself as the denomination with the highest per capita mission giving. By 1906, annual giving to foreign missions was $2 per member. In 1932, total giving was $28.96 per member, of which a third went to home and foreign missions.3 Each congregation was challenged to give as much for missions as it spent on itself, with many churches achieving that objective.

Typical of all denominations, the UPNA included a Women’s General Missionary Society (WGMS), whose missionaries outnumbered those of the denomination’s Board of Foreign Missions. Though stereotyped as conservative, the UPNA did not entirely fit the description. For example, women exercised leadership through the WGMS, and the denomination’s flagship school, Westminster College, founded in 1854, was among the very first U.S. colleges to grant degrees to women. Four periodicals focusing heavily on the missionary task persisted throughout its history. As a small denomination, everyone knew everyone, and a missionary church culture was firmly established, with the Conference (the NWMC) as the linchpin.

Early Years of the NWMC

Anna Milligan, a leader in the Christian Endeavor Union, attended the Silver Bay Conference in 1904, assuming that she would be the only United Presbyterian. She discovered, however, five others in attendance: Effie and Helen McMillan and Loretta Mitchel, teachers from Pittsburgh; Watson, the first full-time secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions; and J. Campbell White, who had served with the YMCA in Calcutta and soon became the general secretary of the Layman’s Missionary Movement.4

The six held a Mission Study Institute in Pittsburgh in 1905. McWatty Russell, the incoming president of Westminster College, which was located in New Wilmington, offered the campus as the location for an August 1906 inaugural conference. Two hundred attended, including thirty ministers. The attendees were mostly adults who were committed to teaching young people about missions. The daily schedule from the Silver Bay conferences was followed: Bible Hour, mission study classes, and Institute Hour in the mornings; rest and recreation in the afternoons; and evening vespers and platform meeting, followed by prayer groups. Much the same schedule is followed today. It was a great success from the start, with attendance reaching five hundred by 1911.5

The first Board of Managers, formed in 1910, consisted of seven men and five women. Watson was an ex officio member, but the board was independent of denominational oversight. Women predominated in leadership roles at NWMC then and continue with prominent roles today. The purpose of NWMC was stated as follows:

To enable missionary secretaries in charge of young people’s work and the leaders in Sabbath schools and young people’s organizations to spend a week or more in uninterrupted conference and prayer, outlining under the guidance of the Holy Spirit plans of missionary work in the ensuing year. . . . [It is] a training school for leaders . . . promoting deeper spiritual life and missionary interest among our churches.6

128

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International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 39, No. 3
The statement of purpose found on NWMC’s website today is similar.

The NWMC looks to deepen the missionary spirit, seeking fulfillment of the Great Commission, with a focus on youth, ages 12–24. Mission interpretation meets the duty and ideal of carrying the gospel to ALL the world. NWMC uses its Presbyterian mission heritage to encourage a deep spiritual life of fellowship with God by promoting service and witness for Jesus Christ.

Missionary Education Movement

The NWMC did not emerge from a vacuum. Significant mission institutions were bubbling up all over North America in the period around 1900. The SVM had launched the first mission study courses in 1893, commissioning college students to carry the vision (“the evangelization of the world in this generation”) to young people’s (high school) societies. The 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Education Movement (MEM) in 1911, with its Board of Managers rotating among twenty-six male secretaries from the mission boards of Protestant denominations.10

By 1920, thirty conferences were using study materials produced by the MEM, focused on training for mission education in preschool, primary, and intermediate ages, with particular emphasis on high school young women. The MEM materials reflected the efforts of women educators committed to the spiritual formation of youth.

The theological developments and the crisis in foreign missions that followed World War I continued into the mid-1930s, by then with a second world war on the horizon. The MEM annual conferences became known as Schools of World Friendship. Fewer missionaries were being sent, however, partly because of the Great Depression.11 In 1933, after thirty years at Silver Bay, the MEM conference was absorbed into the School of Methods of the New Jersey Council of Religious Education. Clearly its agenda was broadening beyond foreign and domestic missions.12 Theological and missiological divisions (such as those related to the modernist/fundamentalist controversy) were deepening, and nondenominational mission boards were increasing, as seen in the SVM conference for college students in 1934, a forerunner of the InterVarsity Urbana Conference.

The high level of missiological consensus of 1900 was disintegrating, and two divergent streams emerged. What was to become conciliar ecumenism spawned the Federal Council of Churches (1908) and, later, the World Council of Churches (1948). In 1950 the MEM became part of the National Council of Churches, the year after its founding. The National Association of Evangelicals (1942) and the World Evangelical Alliance (1951), however, emerged as another stream of ecumenism. The Lausanne Conference (1974), which Time magazine described as “a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held,” developed as a representative of this larger stream of missionary activity.13 The Lausanne Cape Town 2010 gathering included over 5,000 participants from 197 countries. The evangelical and conciliar streams of ecumenism present significant overlap, and the NWMC has always had an appreciative relationship with both ecumenical streams.

Distinctive Developments in the NWMC

The NWMC grew quickly from 1906. The UPNA was known as a conservative Reformed denomination, but the topics found in its publications and at the NWMC belie this simple description. As
NWMC was not thwarted and actually thrived at a time when commitment to world mission was deeply diminished in the UPCUSA.

such as immigration, race, literacy, Mormons, low wages in the cities, immigration, rural poverty, and temperance. Resistance to parochialism, although not universal, was not uncommon at NWMC.16 Unlike the MEM conferences, however, NWMC developed two distinctives.

First, Conference focused predominantly on international mission, but it also always included domestic concerns from “Jerusalem, . . . Judea and Samaria” (Acts 1:8). This commitment was affirmed in 1914, when Watson called a preconference meeting for five members of the Foreign Board, nine members of the Women’s Board, and thirty-two missionaries who would be attending Conference. They discussed a variety of shared concerns, and the event was well received. Similar preconference meetings continued until the 1958 merger with the PCUSA. In 1923 newly appointed missionaries were included, and by 1939 the preconference meeting was used as an occasion for the board to make policies. It survives to the present as the Day of Prayer, a time of preparation for all staff and leaders.17

As early as 1910 the minutes of the Board of Managers show that there was regular discussion of NWMC’s singular purpose as maintaining the missionary vision of the UPNA. This purpose is noted by Charles Watson (director, 1906–16)18 and Mills Taylor (director, 1926-48), who, referring to the Great Depression and financial problems, “resisted strong pressure to change the Conference to something other than mission [and] remained true to its missionary purpose, serving, through dark days, as a source of inspirational education, keeping alive a sympathetic and supportive understanding of the role of foreign mission in the Church.”19 A 1936 article reported NWMC’s belief that “the Christian church was to be a missionary church preaching the gospel to all nations . . . and when she lost her missionary outlook it was a sign that she had lost her vitality at home as well.”20 A centennial article noted that NWMC is “a Missionary Conference marked by a strong missionary purpose and a deep spiritual life.” That it remains focused on mission “is perhaps the most remarkable part of the Conference story.”21

A second distinctive of NWMC is that it grew out of the Young People’s Missionary Movement and has always maintained its focus on youth. The first meeting of the Board of Managers (1910) agreed that a “girl of eighteen” and the “young preacher” should be the primary audience. By 1913 most of the delegates (as participants are known) were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one.22

Local Young People’s Christian Union (YPCU) societies were in existence from the beginning of the UPNA and by 1940 were present in 250 of the denomination’s 850 congregations. Oversight of this work was assigned to the denomination’s Board of Education, as noted in the Christian Herald Union, which published articles focused on “missionary intelligence” among young people. By 1936, youth constituted 70 percent of the delegates at NWMC, with adults actually discouraged from attending.23 For understandable reasons this limitation only to youth could not be maintained. Missionaries and staff would bring their children, and young adults would marry and want to continue their participation (with their children). Eventually the board concurred that it was an intergenerational conference (providing programming for all ages), but always with priority focus on youth and young adults. Board minutes show that 74 percent of the participants were youth in 1976; by 1997 this figure had dropped to 32 percent. The challenge of attracting youth and young adults would continue.24

The Summer Service Program, which indicates NWMC’s deep commitment to young adults and for which there is a dedicated endowment, was proposed in 1961 by Edwin Fairman (director, 1958–81). In 2015 the program will celebrate its fifty-fifth year, having chosen, through a competitive application and interview process, six college-age young adults and a leader for a mission vision trip to Cuba. These groups receive significant orientation, reflection, and debriefing. Long-standing worldwide connections have made the program a highly mature and sustainable short-term mission effort. Next to the concept of the conference itself, this program may be NWMC’s single most significant innovation for continuing its commitment to youth.

Relationship with the Presbyterian Church (USA)

NWMC was a favored auxiliary of great importance to the UPNA during its hundred-year history, culminating in the 1958 merger. Donald Black (director, 1955–57), reflecting on the merger’s impact, noted that “the NWMC suddenly became vulnerable.”25 Given that the merger partner was ten times larger than the UPNA, the marginalization of the conference was inevitable. Missionary orientation and commissioning ceased; furlough conferences for missionaries were scheduled in other locations and in conflict with NWMC dates; travel funds were not available; more than 90 percent of the churches in the new denomination, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA (UPCUSA), had no history with NWMC; and the conference was seen as competition for local camps and conferences.

“In the confusion of reorganization, the organic link between Conference and a national mission agency, bonded through the [director’s] position on both, had been completely severed.”26 Black wrote, “As we approached the church union of 1958, it became evident that [Conference] would not fit into the new structure.”26 NWMC was on its own; forty years and another denominational merger were required before a constructive new relationship with the denomination began to emerge.

NWMC was not thwarted, however, and actually thrived at a time when commitment to world mission was deeply diminished in the UPCUSA.27 A symbol of that era occurred in 1969, when a petition signed by 1,300 attendees (most under twenty-five years
of age) asked the UPCUSA to “advance, not retreat” and not “to deny this generation its opportunity for missionary service,” and pledging “their loyalty, prayers, and support for the missionary enterprise.” Missiology was in deep crisis and was undergoing change in mainline denominations; the NWMC, however, was in its ascendancy and maintained a strong alternative witness.28

What Lies Ahead for the NWMC?

The culture of NWMC as a large extended family is apparent to all and has been a significant contribution to its longevity, but it can also threaten future vitality. The Board of Managers began a season of reflection and discernment in 2014 in anticipation of a transition in leadership over the next several years.

NWMC functions with a volunteer board of twelve (plus ex officio members): a director, a half-time office coordinator/secre-tary, and several summer contract staff. More than 200 volunteers oversee all other details, and only a few speakers receive token honoraria. Other than the NWMC, the last surviving annual Presbyterian mission conference closed more than twenty years ago and was operated by denominational staff. The volunteer culture of NWMC contributed significantly to its growth in the second half of the twentieth century, when the denomination experienced a deep decline.

Another dimension important to NWMC is its partnership with World Mission Initiative (WMI) at Pittsburgh Theological Seminar. “WMI is a fellowship of Presbyterians dedicated to developing mission vision, nurturing missionary vocations, and cultivating missional congregations by helping Christians understand how God is at work in the world and how they can share in that work.”29

Donald Dawson, brother of the author, has been the director of both NWMC (one-third time) and WMI (two-thirds time) since 2002. This gives NWMC access to leadership with full-time dedication to awareness of and interaction with the world Christian community. It has also accounted for the conference’s best relationship with the PC(USA) since 1958. Dawson has developed a close partnership with the Presbyterian mission board to assist in missionary orientation and speaking opportunities. He provides leadership at PC(USA) mission events and develops expertise through organizations like the American Society of Missiology. These are essential assets that NWMC could not afford on its own.

The NWMC/WMI partnership also addresses the original concern to reach the “young preacher.” No other seminary brings such resources together to connect and support future pastors in their role in world mission leadership. Pittsburgh seminarians develop a passion for mission through service at NWMC and WMI travel seminars.

NWMC attendance surpassed one thousand in the early 1960s, ranging as high as 1,500 in the 1980s, but more recently it has dropped to 800 (plus a thousand day visitors). This decline has been of concern to the leadership as they compete with the variety of opportunities available to high school youth, who today number less than half their total in the 1980s. Technical changes have been made (earlier date, music/bands, change of the name from “missionary” to “mission,” greater programming for younger ages, use of social media); but as with all other areas of church life, NWMC is affected by challenging cultural developments.

In shaping the programming of the annual meetings, regular prayer and the Day of Prayer that precedes Conference have been considered inviolable essentials. NWMC purpose statements have always included references to cultivating spiritual life in fellowship with God. The missionary “duty and ideal” have been nurtured through personalization of mission in relationship with participants from the world Christian community.

Legacy of the Missionary Education Movement

How does the story of the NWMC fit within that of the wider missionary conference and “missionary intelligence” movement? Dana Robert, recounting the century of history of the Missionary Education Movement, concludes, “While people can turn to many sources for information, formation for mission in a postmodern, pluralistic world is seriously lacking. . . . We still need a Mission Education Movement.”30 NWMC has had a unique history of addressing that challenge. Future challenges grow out of the two distinctives noted earlier.

First, how can the “primary object” of NWMC continue to be “the deepening of the missionary spirit” in a time of competing interests? MEM declined over several decades in part because it changed from focused “missionary education” to the broadest meaning of “education.” NWMC will need to develop an authentic grasp of the pressing missiological questions such as the missional church conversation and the short-term mission culture, where Third Wave Mission (as identified by Robert Schreiter) promises to be the future pathway for congregations.31 Can NWMC nurture a robust missiology among local church leaders?

Second, how does NWMC focus on youth and young adults in an intergenerational context? Many youth organizations are in decline, and social media animates the culture in ways unimagined by NWMC’s founders. Can the extended family culture engage the moralistic-therapeutic deism of this generation?32 How can the focus remain on the “girl of eighteen” and the “young preacher” without isolating them from other generations?

At the 2014 NWMC a conversation took place among leaders of a trilateral partnership between churches in the Sudan/South Sudan, Malawi, and the United States. It was noted that important adaptive missional decisions have come due, for the church in the West has found itself challenged in the past century by dramatic changes in Christianity of a magnitude unseen since the first century. The church’s center of gravity has changed, and so has that of mission: the most challenging mission field is now to be found in the West, requiring a reorienting of the ecumenical movement within a new multicultural moment. It was within this context that the trilateral conversation referred to took place. Historical Western-driven missionary sending has now been reordered as “mission from everywhere to everywhere.” If we really believe what we are saying about commitment to partnership, perhaps NWMC should also be addressing the present fundamental problems of the church in the West. This conversation at NWMC is a beginning and, if we are serious about it, the discussion will be going much deeper. The NWMC can have an important role in the “missionary education” work ahead. This is truly a proper function of the body of Christ and would seem to be an agenda worthy of the New Wilmington Mission Conference as it celebrates 110 years in service.33

The culture of NWMC as a large extended family is apparent to all.
Notes
2. Samuel Billings Capen, “Laymen’s Missionary Movement” (address to the LMM, January 9, 1907), 11.
3. *Missionary Review of the World* (MRW), 1906, p. 601; 1907, pp. 17–18; 1911, p. 540; 1933, p. 208; 1934, p. 229. In terms of today’s dollar, giving per person in 1932 was twice the level of giving per person today.
14. Julia Lake Kellersberger was Institute Hour speaker on an unprecedented four occasions in the years 1942–1952; see Fairman, *Remember What We Have Received*, 96.
16. Dana L. Robert states, “One is amazed at how simultaneously optimistic and self-critical they were. . . . Authors of the study books were painfully aware that western Christian nations did not themselves measure up to Christian ideals” (“The Mission Education Movement and the Rise of World Christianity, 1902–2002” [paper presented at Centennial Celebration of the Mission Education Movement, NCCCUSA General Assembly, November 14, 2002]).
17. Mrs. H. C. Campbell, “Conference on Foreign Boards at New Wilmington,” WMM, 1914, p. 109; Fairman, *Remember What We Have Received*, 18–21.
18. NWMC Board Minutes, August 17, 1910; MEM Minutes, February 19, 1918, Folder 7, Box 6, RG 20, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa. By this date, the MEM board consisted of mission board secretaries, mostly male.
19. Fairman, *Remember What We Have Received*, 41.
22. Fairman, *Remember What We Have Received*, 62.
23. W. H. McPeak, CUH, September 19, 1936, p. 1; Fairman, *Remember What We Have Received*, 123.
24. NWMC Board of Manager Minutes, November 2, 1997, NWMC Archives.
29. See www.worldmissioninitiative.org.
33. This paragraph draws on conversations the author had with Andrew F. Walls and other Sudan Mission Partnership participants, July 22, 2014, NWMC.

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Rigwe Migration and Their Subjugation

The Rigwe live mostly in Kwall, Miango, and nearby villages and hamlets sixteen to eighteen miles west of Jos. Some ancestors of the Rigwe, who came from further north, had migrated to the Jos Plateau by the seventeenth century, first settling in and around Kwall. In the early nineteenth century, Uthman dan Fodio and his followers established the Sokoto Caliphate. Some proto-Rigwe moved to Kwall in the early 1800s and later, about 1830, some came to Miango to escape Uthman dan Fodio’s successors who were seeking to expand the caliphate. By the onset of the European colonial era, most of the people living in Miango were Rigwe.2 “Miango” is an English derivation of Nyango, the name of the person who reputedly built the first permanent residence in present-day Miango.3

In the early twentieth century the Rigwe, though mainly farmers, were also astute traders, hunters, and cavalrymen.4 They, along with their neighbors, were conquered by the British-led West African Frontier Force in the period from 1905 to 1909. Their subjugation established British control and gained for the British unhindered access to nearby tin mines. To establish hegemony the colonial administration created warrant chiefs to collect taxes, enforce colonial laws, extract labor, and maintain order.5 By tradition, the Rigwe had only had clan heads rather than chiefs, so the British had to invent the position of chief, building upon indigenous structures to consolidate their rule. These chiefs often abused their power, thus engendering the ill will of both the colonial authorities and the peoples they ruled.6 In 1905 the British established Chinge Nyami of the Nadzia clan as Bra-Ngwad Rigwe, that is, chief of all the Rigwe in Kwall. He ruled until about 1930. Concurrently, the British placed Tingwe (Atinga) Rabwo, a cobbler-merchant and occasional slave trader who knew the Hausa language, as subchief over Miango. He belonged to the Tahu clan, Miango’s largest but ritually least significant clan.7

Introduction of Christianity

The first SIM missionaries ventured onto the Jos Plateau in 1910. Because Rowland Bingham, cofounder and leader of SIM, wanted a place on the cool plateau where missionaries could rest and hold Bible conferences, the missionaries, utilizing African labor, in 1913 began to build a station, or missionary “sanitarium,” at Kla, which was then outside Miango. The SIM missionaries and Africans also established a small compound with a church, school, and dispensary on the outskirts of Miango in the early 1920s that the Rigwe named Ri-Goji, or “white man’s place.”8 Some Africans were converted to Christianity as a result of these early efforts.9 The first missionaries to work on a long-term basis among the Rigwe, Harold and Viola Ogilvie, did not arrive until 1919. The Ogilvies lived first at the Sanitarium and then in 1922 moved to Ri-Goji.10 Several single women joined the Ogilvies in the years that followed, most notably Effie Varley (1924) and Dorothy (“Queenie”) Howe (1930).11 The missionaries baptized the first converts in 1928. The requisites for baptism were literacy, faithful church attendance, exemplary living, taking baptismal classes, and having only one spouse.12

Brra Kw tên’s First Chieftaincy, ca. 1919–ca. 1924

Tingwe Rabwo was succeeded as the chief of Miango in 1917 by Adari Zinge, but the British ousted him from power reportedly after he failed to turn over people who had killed some cattle. A local crisis ensued. Today the Rigwe give a dramatic and seemingly

That Was the Beginning of Great Things at Miango”: Brra Kw tên Tingwe and the Origins of Christianity in Miango, Nigeria, 1913–1936

Amos Koggie, Zamfara Iveh, and Tim Geysbeek

Brra Kw tên (d. 1948), a onetime Rigwe chief who became a Christian in 1925, played a key role in the establishment of Christianity in the town of Miango, Nigeria, near Jos. According to contemporary missionaries and some Rigwe storytellers who were born probably around 1920, the defining moment for the early Rigwe church occurred when Brra Kw tên destroyed a sacred vessel and all of the ritual objects in his home, with the confidence that Jesus was more powerful than the Rigwe spiritual world. Brra Kw tên continued to be a pathbreaking figure for the nascent Rigwe Christian community; the issues with which he wrestled helped chart the course the early Rigwe believers took in scrutinizing the implications of their new faith commitment. The story of their struggles has value both in itself and as a resource for the Rigwe church of today in discerning the course of life it should take.

This article had its genesis in 1992, when Tim Geysbeek was teaching at Kent Academy, on the outskirts of Miango. He, along with coauthors Amos Koggie and Zamfara Iveh and others, interviewed some elders in Miango. In constructing the following account, the authors draw on some of these interviews, papers passed down within the families of early Rigwe believers, and locally published histories. The period covered spans the quarter century from 1913, when the first Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) missionaries settled in Miango, to 1936, when Brra Kw tên’s son Weyi Kw tên became the first African pastor in Miango.1

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embellished account of how Br ra Kwę Tingwę, one of Tingwę Rabwo’s sons, stepped in front of a column of colonial soldiers who were marching into Miango. Kneeling down, he poured dust on his head, “crawled toward them raising his hands,” and pleaded with them not to burn Miango, telling them that he would reveal the location of the offenders. Br ra Kwę led the troops to the culprits. The British subsequently, in about 1919, installed him as the next chief.13

Br ra Kwę occupied the role of chief of Miango twice, ca. 1919–ca. 1924 and 1931–35. Zongo Odoh claims that the British replaced Br ra Kwę as chief the first time because he abused his power, an account that likely has merit. According to Odoh, the author of a political history of the Rigwe, Br ra Kwę “ruled the people with an iron hand.” He sometimes beat people and otherwise treated them ruthlessly when collecting taxes and requisitioning labor, and he stole their goats, horses, spades, and grain. Br ra Kwę daughter Zhu Mamman, however, gave a different account, saying that “people did not like his administration very much” because he was a “straightforward” person who “spoke his mind without fear.” The missionaries, who scarcely wrote about politics, stated only that Br ra Kwę was a “raw pagan” who drank excessively. They added that he was crude and lustful because he had several wives, and that he was a “witchdoctor.”15

Br ra Kwę’s Early Life as a Christian, 1925–1931

Br ra Kwę Tingwę became a Christian in May 1925.16 According to the SIM missionaries, he spoke to them at their residences in Ri-Goji and attended evening services in the compound of his fellow Tahu clansman Chinge (Cingye) Ikre, who the previous September had become a Christian.17 One Saturday, Br ra Kwę came upon a missionary who was “preparing to preach the gospel to a small crowd seated at the foot of a large, spreading tree,” so he “took upon himself the job of being the interpreter.” Br ra Kwę, apparently translating from Hausa to the Rigwe language, liked the message so much that he took his half dozen or so wives and twenty to thirty children to church the following day, where he and some of his family became Christians. The Ogilvies and Varley wrote, “That was the beginning of great things at Miango,” because “people would only listen to Christianity if the chief converted.”18

Another account, from a 1992 interview with Agara Nwa, who was a toddler when Br ra Kwę became a Christian and who had worked for the Ogilvies as a youth, stated that Br ra Kwę first learned about Christianity from Harold Ogilvie. Ogilvie was visiting a compound in Taagbe quarter where Br ra Kwę was courting a woman named Sibi. While playing juego, a seed game, Br ra Kwę listened to Ogilvie speak. Because rije, or troublesome spirits, possessed some of his family members, he was attracted by Ogilvie’s claim that “anyone who accepted Jesus would be free of demonic possession and oppression.” In Agara Nwa’s account, Br ra Kwę went to the small missionary-led church in Ri-Goji that Sunday and became a Christian.19

Br ra Kwę’s conversion was significant because he was one of the most important citizens of the town to become a Christian and attend church with his family. Indeed, it was unusual during this early stage of missionary activity in colonial Africa for a chief (or former chief) to be one of the first Christians in a particular locality.20 In the weeks that followed, the missionaries and Chinge held Gospel meetings at Br ra Kwę’s house on Friday evenings, and Br ra Kwę, his family, and others attended services at Chinge’s house each Tuesday evening.21

In December 1925 or January 1926, Br ra Kwę decided to destroy a powerful sacred object that the Rigwe called osho rije, or container of troublesome spirits; these rije lived in a calabash.22 The missionaries referred to the osho rije as a demon altar, saying that it consisted of “a few old calabashes, one inside the other, a mass of chicken feathers from pagan sacrifices and a charm in the innermost one.” According to the missionaries, writing in February 1926:

It was our privilege a few weeks ago to witness the destruction of the demon altar.... We had a special service in [BrraKwę’s] compound one evening, at the close of which it [the “demon altar”] was brought out and committed to the flames. With the addition of some dry grass, this made a splendid blaze; and how our hearts were thrilled with joy as we stood around, singing to the glory of our Savior our Irigwe version of “Nothing but the Blood of Jesus.”23

Agara Nwa’s memories below provide culturally significant details and convey a charged atmosphere that does not come through as clearly in the missionary accounts.

They placed all the articles and items of the rije under the silken-cotton tree at Ri-Dbawe [in Tahu quarter]. They also gathered firewood. . . . The other extended families began to say, “Kwa, do you want to bring trouble, calamity and misfortune upon us? Why do you want to do such a thing? Do you want to burn these things that are never exposed in the open? Do you want us to perish?” Knowing that he trusted God completely, he proceeded with his mission. . . . They started by singing praises unto God. They sang for quite a while. . . . They set those things on fire with boldness and made sure that they completely burned. The exercise was carried out in Jesus’s name. If they had relied on their own power, they would not have been successful. Truly speaking, they would all have died.24

In 1927, because of mounting opposition from many of the townspeople, Br ra Kwę and most of the other Christians moved to Kpachudu, seven miles from Miango.25 The question of whether they should live in separate Christian communities was one of the issues that emerged in the young church. The African believers had to decide which aspects of their local beliefs and practices were antithetical to Christianity and should be modified or discarded. The SIM missionaries played a significant role in this decision-making process, believing that “the old that was of the devil and everything to do with it must be destroyed,” and that Christians needed to make a “clean separation from sin.”26 Br ra Kwę, like the missionaries, held that new converts needed to live in a Christian environment until they became well-grounded in Christian doctrine and practice. His son Weyi, however, urged Christians to stay in Miango to witness to unbelievers and encourage new converts.27

Leadership in the Church, 1931–1935

Two major turning points in Br ra Kwę’s life came in 1931: on May 17 the British reinstated him as the chief of Miango,28 and on July 5 he was baptized and made a church elder; that same day the SIM missionaries formally established the church in Miango with African leaders. The SIM missionaries—after baptizing Br ra Kwę and ten other persons, raising the total number of baptized Africans in Miango to twenty-nine—felt there were enough baptized believers to start the church. Very likely they did so at the strong urging of congregants such as Br ra Kwę. After the baptism, the baptized Christians signed a covenant which granted them church membership. The church’s first officers were selected.
at that time. Bra Kwé, his son Weyi, and two other men were appointed elders. Weyi’s wife Da Gida, the first woman to read the Book of John in Rigwe, was appointed deaconess. Weyi’s wife Da Gida, the first woman to read at that time. Brra Kwé’s decision to be baptized and join the church politically motivated, at least in part intended to solidify his base among the emerging Christian community and yield to missionary pressure? The Ogilvies wrote that it was “suggested” (seemingly by the missionaries) to Bra Kwé that God might have “spared” him from a potentially fatal illness so he could reconsider his refusal to “get rid of his extra wives.” Weighing against such an interpretation is the fact that by becoming baptized, Bra Kwé risked antagonizing more of the non-Christians who lived in Miango. Also, the extant sources indicate that he lived a sincere Christian life after he converted. On the part of the SIM missionaries, did Bra Kwé’s reappointment as chief accelerate their move to organize the church? Regardless of how and why the church was established in July 1931, its formation represented an important first step toward autonomy for the African church in Miango.

Decisions by Bra Kwé and other African believers about family issues set important precedents. Bra Kwé, for instance, encouraged his wives to marry other converts but did not force them to leave his household. He allowed one of his former wives who had older children to return so he could take care of her. When his son Weyi allowed one of his wives who did not have children to return, he felt “he had done wrong.” The missionaries wrote that Chinge and two other Rigwe believers were “very grieved” that Weyi took his wife back. Bra Kwé also considered inordinate expenditure on bride-price to be an abuse of labor and resources, so he did not make his daughter’s Christian suitor continue this practice. Such fundamental changes contributed to the development of a new social order that went along with the earnings and commensurate rise in status that individuals could achieve in business, mining, civil service, and the church.

After Bra Kwé became chief in 1931, he moved from Kpachudu back to Miango across from Ri-Goji. His relocation signaled or at least represented the slow movement of many Christians back toward Miango. In 1935 some Christians started to build homes in Kwasha, which is adjacent to the Sanitarium. Shortly thereafter others started to move back into the center of Miango. According to Harold Ogilvie, Bra Kwé remained a zealous Christian after he became chief. On one occasion, for example, he made the people stay home when he was collecting taxes so he could preach to them. He found out, however, that he did not have enough time both to preach and to collect taxes, so he arranged for two other men to preach while he worked. In one two-day period, the men preached ninety-two times.

Bra Kwé, by some accounts, became so corrupt that the British replaced him with Tinwi Hweke, who belonged to the Taagbe clan. Odoh writes that Bra Kwé “continued to handle his subjects with an iron hand” as he had done during his first administration, and implies that Bra Kwé inflated the price of relief corn for his own gain during a time of famine caused by locusts. Amos Koggie, a co-author of this article, has written elsewhere that “Brakwa and his subjects erred in tax collection.” In contrast, Effie Varley reported that the British removed Bra Kwé so someone from the original ruling family could be Miango’s chief. The district officer reportedly told Miango’s elders that he did not find any fault with Bra Kwé.

**Bra Kwé’s Last Years, 1936–1948**

The Ogilvies left Miango in 1935, and one year later the church elected Bra Kwé’s son Weyi (d. 1969) as Miango’s first African pastor. Only scattered references can be found in the missionary sources about what Bra Kwé did between leaving the chieftaincy in 1935 and his death in May 1948. For the SIM missionaries, it was significant that Bra Kwé encouraged his fellow Rigwe to travel as missionaries to preach to peoples who had never heard the Gospel. The SIM missionaries lamented that the Rigwe believers showed a “disinclination to reach out to the regions beyond,” so they felt that Bra Kwé’s evangelistic trips to Kafuna and other places set a good example for the church.

**Conclusion**

We have examined the life of Bra Kwé Tingwé, who in 1925 became a Christian in Miango, Nigeria. Bra Kwé made several important decisions that many local Christians followed: he replaced the Irigwe belief system and practices associated with local spirits with Christian orthopraxy, destroyed at least one sacred object, started to modify marriage practices, was baptized, became a member of the church, modeled preaching to people other than the Irigwe, and, according to church historian Musa Gaiya, began the “close association of the church with the Irigwe political set-up, which has continued to the present.” Bra Kwé represents one of the thousands of Africans who played important roles in advancing the cause of Christianity but whose stories scarcely appear in the annals of written history.

After the 1930s, missionaries no longer worked directly among the Irigwe. Now, nine decades after Bra Kwé became a Christian, some twenty Protestant churches and several Roman Catholic parishes exist in greater Miango, making clear the vibrant role of the Irigwe Christians in establishing their own church. Over half of the Protestant churches belong to the Evangelical Church Winning All, the denomination related to SIM in Nigeria. Remembering the struggles that Miango’s first generation of believers encountered and decisions they made can provide perspective for members of the church there today.
Notes

1. The authors thank Agara Nwa, Zhu Mamman, and Hwie Zamfara, who gave important interviews; Gastor Barrie, Adamu Odoh, Augustine Ishaya, and Ado Garba, who helped translate the interviews; Jo-Ann Brant and Bob Arnold, who provided initial access to materials in the SIM International Archives; SIM USA, which provided funds so Gysbeek could return to Miango in 2001 to continue this research; the late Irigwe chief Adamu Zamfara and University of Jos church historian Musa Gaiya, who in 2001 encouraged us to continue our research; Nuhu Yakubu Chayi, who was our communications link; and Jonathan J. Bonk, Andrew E. Barnes, Gary Corwin, Musa Gaiya, and Paul Todd who provided critical feedback. All unpublished items are located in the SIM International Archives, Fort Mill, South Carolina; citations are by box labels or folders located there.


25. Ogilvies and Varley, to Prayer Helpers, August 9, 1926; Ogilvies, to Prayer Helpers, August 8, 1927.


27. Ogilvies and Varley, to Prayer Helpers, August 9, 1926; Tiedje, “Irigwe Social Organization,” 27.

28. Ogilvies and Varley, to Prayer Helpers, June 6, 1930.


30. Ogilvies, to Prayer Helpers, June 6, 1930.

31. Interview with Hwie Zamfara, 1992; Ogilvies and Varley, to Prayer Helpers, August 9, 1926; Varley letter, November 13, 1926.


36. Varley, “Resume of Miango Station.”


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Transforming the Dualistic Worldview of Ethiopian Evangelical Christians

Rich Hansen

Ethiopian evangelical churches are among the fastest growing in the world. Ethiopia has the third largest Christian population in sub-Saharan Africa. As recently as 1980, Protestant evangelicals accounted for less than 5 percent of the population, but today they make up nearly 20 percent (and 30 percent of the country’s Christians). Ethiopian evangelicals are thus in a position to make an enormous impact on their nation and continent in the coming decades. A factor with the potential to limit this impact, however, may be certain aspects of the Ethiopian evangelical worldview.

A majority of Ethiopian evangelicals have a dualistic worldview, that is, a “split vision worldview . . . [that] separates reality into two fundamentally distinct categories: holy and profane, sacred and secular.” This dualistic worldview can be traced historically to three sources. First, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which is arguably the second-oldest continuously functioning church in the world, has been a 1,700-year-long influence on Ethiopian culture. The Orthodox often and in many ways dichotomize the spiritual and the material, for example, by elevating asceticism as the highest form of spirituality and by esteeming monks and priests as being above ordinary believers.

A second influence shaping Ethiopian evangelicals is the theology they received from Protestant missionaries, many of whom were themselves shaped by a dichotomous pietistic worldview that separated the sacred and the secular, common among U.S. fundamentalists in the 1930s and 1940s. A student comments: “According to their teaching, the proper work of the kingdom of God is evangelism and commitment to the work of the church. This dualism teaching laid the foundation [for] Ethiopia believers.”

The third influence came from the Communist Derg regime in Ethiopia (1974–91), which severely persecuted evangelicals and promoted a materialist ideology that elevated reason above religion. In particular, a dualism that views creation as expendable engenders negative views of the human body. In a paper one student made an often-heard observation: “Most of our community, including a great number of evangelical believers, seem to neglect even to keep their body clean and take care of it. Some of them refuse to brush their teeth, wash their clothes, or nurture their body by eating a balanced diet. They all do this in order to please God and become more spiritual in their daily lives.”

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Attitudes toward work. For a majority of evangelicals, “full-time Christian work” is often defined solely as working within church occupations. One student wrote: “The secular and spiritual dichotomy is entertained in almost all churches. People tend to consider their work outside the church as working for Pharaoh in Egypt and their ministry in the church as heavenly activity.”

Such dichotomizing means that church members “working for Pharaoh” outside the church often feel that they are second-class and useless to God. As one student wrote poignantly:

The idea of splitting the world into two realms and thinking one is better than the other affects my spiritual life and the way I think about Christian vocation. I have been working as a nurse in a hospital but have never felt that I was serving God. Rather, I felt sad when I thought of myself not being involved in ministry because I believed that I was engaged in a secular vocation. I considered that God’s true servants were people who served God full-time . . . . I considered myself as a second-rate Christian.

Moreover, when evangelicals think they are working for Pharaoh, they are tempted to do their work lazily or dishonestly, since God is thought to ignore their “secular” activities. A recent report identified 80 percent of government officials imprisoned for corruption as being evangelicals.

Aspects of Dualism among Evangelicals

For the sake of this article, I present aspects of the dualistic worldview evident among evangelicals in Ethiopia under four headings, regarding attitudes toward (1) creation and material reality, (2) work, (3) society, and (4) spirituality. Each topic is illustrated through quotations from students’ course papers.

Attitudes toward creation and material reality. Rather than having a future hope for a renewed material creation, Ethiopian evangelicals more often express hope in a nonmaterial heaven, viewing the created order as destined only for destruction. Few imagine that God loves his creation or that creation has intrinsic value to God. A consequence is that the physical environment is ignored. Trash is endemic in public spaces. In the capital city of Addis Ababa, rivers are so polluted that often one can smell the stench from blocks away. Some natural resources have been severely depleted, with little awareness of consequences. For example, a student with an undergraduate degree in forestry told my class that only 3 percent of the previously existing forested land in Ethiopia still exists today.

After a class discussion of God’s love of creation, I asked students to pay particular attention to the natural world around them as they went home that day. One student wrote:

Interestingly, when I went home there were a lot of ants in my home, and I didn’t say, “O God, where did they come from? Please burn them!” Instead, I took my two-year-old baby girl and showed her the ants. . . . And I just felt something amazing and started to praise the Lord for how wonderful his creations are. Starting from that moment, I started to teach my baby to love and not to hate or be afraid of animals, and I took her to the zoo to show her some animals.

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similar story: “Many unbelievers think that most Christians are lazy in their secular work. I say this because I have encountered a manager that does not hire Christians (born-again Christians). The reason is that he thinks that born-again Christians have good life ethics but bad work ethics. I found this to be very true.”11

Attitudes toward society. Regarding society, a sacred/secular dualism confuses notions of structure and direction. It holds that God created all things good (structure) but affirms that sin causes these structures to be misused against God’s purposes (negative direction).12 Thus, rather than viewing government, politics, music, the arts, or science as God-given and therefore good structures of life that can, however, be misused, the dualistic worldview sees them as inherently evil. Practically, this means that many churches restrict their activities to preaching, healing, and evangelism; addressing human needs is considered a “secular” activity and is relegated to the government or NGOs. A tragic example is the rampant HIV/AIDS epidemic in Ethiopia, which, until relatively recently, was seen by evangelicals as “not our business.”13 One student wrote: “The country has developed a transformation and development strategy and is mobilizing every resource toward its achievement. However, the involvement of the Christian community is insignificant. The major reason for such minimal involvement is its dualistic understanding of life.”14

Another observed:

In May 2005 peaceful demonstrators in Addis Ababa were killed by government soldiers. Unlike the Ethiopian Catholic Church, no evangelical church or pastor voiced disapproval against the killings based on moral grounds. The silence of the churches can be taken as evidence that churches in the Ethiopian context have largely ignored their social responsibility because of a dualistic worldview that perceives the soul as more important and of higher value than the body.15

Attitudes toward spirituality. Perhaps most debilitating for a healthy Christian community is a dualistic view of spirituality itself. One student commented:

Some Pentecostal preachers are creating many problems by abusing the word “faith,” even to the extent that sick people throw away their medicine because they think they are healed, even when they have not received real healing. And when such action results in serious problems, these preachers put the blame on the person for a lack of faith. Some people also say that it is unspiritual to try to reason out the things that are to be believed. In their view, it is spiritual to accept things “blindly,” simply by what a preacher, prophet, or pastor says.16

Ever since Augustine, “faith seeking understanding” has been a wise definition of the theological task. A dualistic worldview, however, involves faith that is opposed to understanding. Such an outlook poses many dangers. One, as indicated above, is widespread denigration among evangelicals of so-called secular science. Another casualty is honest biblical interpretation—evangelicals follow the many self-proclaimed “prophets,” whose pronouncements are not evaluated critically in the light of Scripture.

A student eloquently articulated the dangers dualism poses to spiritual life through avoidance of personal responsibility:

We tend to look at ourselves as inherently good. We presume that the main thing to deal with is not self but Satan. Our proposed solution, therefore, is to launch attack . . . against Satan. In the process, the need for being transformed in our inner being is greatly deemphasized. As a result, we do not see ourselves as the source of the problem; rather, the problem is from outside [us]. According to the cultural glasses that we all wore when we read the Bible, these assumptions all seemed natural and self-evident. . . . That is what it means to be a typical Ethiopian evangelical Christian.17

Diagnosing Dualistic Worldviews

If one is to overcome the deleterious effects of the dualistic worldview, a proper diagnosis is essential. Is dualism simply wrong thinking, or is something much deeper involved—a sin-generated spiritual captivity?

One can make a case for dualism as wrong thinking. For example, Ethiopian students usually express shock at being told that the Scriptures are the result of human authorship as well as divine inspiration, or that Jesus was as completely human as he was completely divine. Their dualistic worldview assumes that the human/material contaminates the divine/spiritual—thus, even the possibility that the human and divine could coexist in Scripture or in Jesus is inconceivable to them. I would not judge these wrong understandings as sin. When we look, however, at the total result of the dualistic worldview among Ethiopian evangelicals, dualism as sin must be taken seriously.

Ethiopian evangelicals typically conceptualize sin as intentional overt actions. My students often argue that unintentional or unconscious actions are not sinful. That one may commit sin without realizing it, that sin may manifest itself within society as such, or indeed that sin might be embedded in a cultural worldview—such concepts are perplexing to them. Yet many Christians throughout the world recognize racism or sexism, for example, as sin, even though individuals acting in racist or sexist ways within their own cultures often have no conscious guilt of wrongdoing.

Why are racism and sexism sinful? At the very least, they devalue human beings created in the image of God and are opposed to God’s kingdom values. Similarly, dualism disparages the good creation God loves, denies the good gifts God provides to enable us to do productive work, denigrates disciples’ calling to be salt and light in the world outside church compounds, and can destroy disciples’ ability to live spiritually faithful lives. The student comments above testify to all these realities.

When teaching the Pharisees that sin reaches far deeper than mere outward actions, Jesus identifies the source of sin as the heart (Luke 6:43–45). David Naugle offers an extended biblical and philosophical argument that the heart is also the source of our worldview: “The heart establishes the basic presuppositions of life and, because of its life-determining influence, must always be carefully guarded.” If both worldview and sin emanate from the heart, it is easy to agree with Naugle that aspects of one’s
worldview might be sinfully corrupted. Jesus seems to believe that the worldview of the Pharisees, for example, is not simply wrong thinking, but sinful.

Archibald Hart, former dean of the School of Psychology at Fuller Theological Seminary, presents a compelling synthesis of biblical and psychological views of sin in the accompanying diagrams. Figure 1 reflects Jesus' statement that sinful corruption (the gray area) begins in the person's innermost being or heart (the black inner circle) and flows outward, contaminating aspects of the human character and personality. While this corruption is often hidden beneath the boundary of the self (the outer circle), it regularly appears openly in the sphere of public behavior, where it is visible and recognized by both the person and observers.

Figure 2 represents a person who has become a Christian. The heart is cleansed from sin (the now-white inner circle), but sin's corrupting influence (the gray areas, what the Bible often calls "flesh") remains alive and active. The person is indeed transformed (has a new heart) in a once-for-all cleansing (justification). However, the further scrubbing clean of sin's corruption in the psyche and personality is an ongoing, lifelong process of transformation (sanctification).

As one reflects on this biblical/psychological understanding of sin, it is realistic to assume that some aspects of sin's inner corruption (the gray area) might include elements of a perverted worldview. Missiologist Paul Hiebert comments on the importance of seeing conversion as both a point-decision (justification) and a lifelong process (sanctification).

Conversion to Christ must encompass all three levels of culture: behavior and rituals, beliefs, and worldview. Although conversion must include a change in behavior and beliefs, if the worldview is not transformed, in the long run the gospel is subverted and becomes captive to the local culture. . . . If behavioral change was the focus of early Protestantism, and changed beliefs the focus of the twentieth century, transforming worldviews must be central to the church and mission in the twenty-first century.

Dualistic Worldviews as a Weapon of Satan?

While the cosmic battle between God and Satan is a theme throughout Scripture, an overlooked aspect of this conflict, highlighted by David Naugle, is “worldview warfare,” or, to put it another way, an intellectual warfare over worldviews. Naugle proposes that a culture’s spiritual atmosphere is the primary source of Satan’s domination.

Since Satan and the demons can manipulate men and women only to the extent that they are deceived, what better way to achieve this than by the propagation of fallacious conceptions of reality through the conduit of the spirit of the age, from which no one can escape? To top off this scheme, the principalities and powers under devilish management cleverly cover their tracks and operate in such a clandestine fashion as to suggest their non-existence.

Every culture has its own “fallacious conceptions of reality,” which may offer inroads for such manipulation. I am proposing that the dualism present in a sacred/secular worldview is an element of Ethiopian culture that may in fact be used by Satan to distort and frustrate the growth of God’s kingdom.

Is such Satanic manipulation easily recognized? Not necessarily. In the Ethiopian context, Christians often speak of battling Satan. Yet it appears that Satan’s strategy is one of “hiding in plain sight”—focusing attention on surface behavior while the far more crucial “worldview warfare” is the 90 percent of the iceberg invisible below the waterline.

One “tip of the iceberg” issue for many Ethiopian evangelicals is avoiding worldliness, defined as drinking, smoking, listening to so-called secular music, and so forth. Yet the more serious worldliness exists not primarily in personal temptations to debauchery but in “an interpretation of reality that essentially excludes the reality of God from the business of life.” To ignore God’s presence in and concern for the environment, work, art, music, business, and politics and to focus myopically on a narrow range of behavioral matters is certainly to court spiritual disaster. In the cosmic battle between the kingdoms of God and Satan, Ethiopian evangelicals may find themselves at many crucial points sitting on the sidelines, having left the battlefield and the enemy unchallenged—or, even worse, having allowed the dualistic blinders they wear to keep all but small corners of the battlefield invisible to them.

Moving beyond a Dualistic Worldview

That Ethiopian evangelicals take Satan, evil, and sin very seriously gives reason for great hope. For them to recognize the dualistic mind-set as a possible strategy of Satan that undermines their impact for the kingdom of God might serve as a needed wake-up call. Accepting that a sacred/secular dualism might be both a sin and a Satan-generated sickness will, in turn, hopefully prod evangelicals into deeper reflection and action.

What directions might such deeper reflection and action take? Hiebert suggests that worldviews change in two basic ways: through slow growth and through paradigm shifts. The former involves a constant adaptation of the underlying worldview, like remodeling an existing house. Paradigm shifts involve demolition of the old house and reusing its materials to rebuild with a better design. Both strategies are needed, but the paradigm shift is essential for evangelical leaders.

Transforming such a worldview requires more than new information, even new biblical information. Jesus gave the Pharisees plenty of new information, yet only a few (e.g., Nicodemus) changed their worldview regarding him. Many observe that new information by itself rarely heals racism or sexism, either. The kind of worldview change needed requires a spiritual healing that only happens under the power of the Holy Spirit, who “leads us into all truth” (John 16:13) and makes each of us a “new creation” (2 Cor. 5:17). Thus, fervent prayer for the Spirit’s power must underlie any effort to transform a dualistic worldview.
Practically, what pathways might the Spirit take in which human beings may cooperate? Hiebert suggests three steps that result in worldview change. First is “surfacing” the worldview to conscious awareness so it can be understood for what it is—not reality, but only a model of reality.26 One then carefully examines how well dualism fits the biblical worldview under the categories of creation, fall, redemption, and new creation. This is what I try to do with my graduate students. After carefully reviewing the weight of biblical data, I have observed that many students begin to shift away from defining reality in sacred/secular ways.

A second means of worldview transformation is to step outside one’s own culture and see it from a new vantage point. “As we learn to see the world through the eyes of others and then return to our own culture, we come back as ‘outsiders’ and begin to see it through new eyes.”27 One of the values of a global theological village is the opportunity to see through others’ eyes as they have wrestled with the same issue. A crucial task for Ethiopian Bible schools and seminaries is to offer the next generation of evangelical leaders these “new eyes” with which to see the negative impact dualism is having on their spiritual lives and witness to society.

These first two strategies stimulate the paradigm shift that I believe is especially needed among church leaders. Once this paradigm shift is under way among leaders and future leaders, then we can begin to adopt Hiebert’s most provocative suggestion for transforming worldviews—the “slow growth” of living rituals.28 Rituals reinforce worldview change. Since ritual is deeply embedded in Ethiopian society, it offers great potential. Growing a new ritual might be as simple as for evangelical leaders to decide never again to use the phrase “full-time Christian work” to refer to church workers, or to stop using “secular” altogether to modify “work,” “music,” and so forth. Changing how we speak slowly changes how we think.

One of my students organized a cleanup day for her church members to pick up trash around the community. Another student got her Sunday school class to plant trees in the church compound. Simple efforts to be sure, but such repeated small actions can slowly change how we see the world.

Evangelical worship is an especially fertile soil for new living rituals. Adding social concerns in congregational prayers, offering testimonies of members having an impact for Christ within their “secular” occupations, or writing new songs about God loving creation are options. Such new rituals require a new kind of church leadership, which again raises the necessity of a paradigm shift into a more biblical worldview for the new generation of leaders. While paradigm shifts tear down and rebuild the house (especially for leaders), living rituals slowly remodel it for all evangelicals. They are complementary efforts; both are needed.

Notes
2. Through teaching at the only Protestant graduate theological college in Ethiopia, I have been able to interact with outstanding Ethiopian students representing all evangelical denominations. Much of what I present here I learned from them. I am especially grateful to Tekalign Nega for helpful comments on a draft of this article.
5. Ashagre Estifanos, course paper for “Foundations of Christian Theology” (fall 2012). Minor stylistic adjustments have been made in the course papers cited here.
6. Tigist Takele, course paper for “God, Creation, Humanity” (fall 2012).
7. Yihyes Tadesse, course paper for “Personal Development” (fall 2013).
13. Many students state that only after the Ethiopian government took the lead in serving those with HIV/AIDS did the evangelical churches join in.
17. Tekalign Nega, course paper for “Pastoral Theology and Leadership” (spring 2013).
23. Ibid., 283.
25. Hiebert, Transforming Worldviews, 316.
27. Ibid., 321.
28. Ibid., 322–24.

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My Pilgrimage in Mission

Henry Hale Bucher Jr.

Born of missionary parents in South China in 1936, I would learn later that Japan and China were at war. As bombings near us on Hainan Island increased, our family of five escaped by Chinese junk in 1939 to Haiphong (then French Indo-China). Hong Kong was our next destination on the way to the United States. We children were relieved when our first snowy winter ended, and our family enjoyed a late spring vacation at the Ventnor, New Jersey, seaside Houses of Fellowship for furloughed missionaries, predecessor of the Overseas Ministries Study Center now in New Haven, Connecticut. By late 1940 our family had returned to Southeast Asia, to the School of Chinese Learning in Beijing. As Japanese incursions intensified, our family evacuated with the school to the Philippine Islands.

Escaping World War II

My first recollection was hearing our parents and their colleagues lamenting the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Hours later, Japan bombed Manila, putting enemy citizens under house arrest. My brother was born under Japanese occupation. By early summer 1944, the Japanese command interned all Allied citizens. We were taken to the University of Los Baños near Manila, where we lived behind barbed wire for nine months. My strongest memories revolve around hunger, hope, and the other people of faith, including Roman Catholic priests and nuns, whose sense of humor helped us strengthen our faith and broaden my ideas about the larger family of missionaries.

The word “miracle” took on new meaning on February 23, 1945, when the U.S. 11th Airborne and Filipino guerrillas rescued us at morning roll call within Japanese-held territory. Delirious with joy, we had no idea that we had to be taken by amphibious tanks into the security of a U.S.-operated hospital prison. We wanted to celebrate, but U.S. paratroopers had to burn our barracks to emphasize that we all must leave now, with only what we could carry. All internees were rescued, but some died soon after from irreversible malnutrition. We later learned that the Japanese high command had issued a “kill order” for us for that very day and that Filipino intelligence had alerted General MacArthur to the urgency. With the battle of Iwo Jima in progress, the general assigned the rescue mission to local U.S. and Filipino operatives.

After our dramatic rescue, recovery and exodus seemed less memorable to a nine-year-old. During that recuperation, we focused on food and finding clothes that were acceptable. Repatriating us to Los Angeles, the overcrowded USS Eberle was accompanied by U.S. destroyers as we zigzagged to avoid attacks by Japanese submarines. Even more dangerous was one of the worst storms at sea recorded during the war.

For our missionary parents, we were headed home; for my family, a certified teacher, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Hours later, Japan bombed Manila, putting enemy citizens under house arrest. My brother was born under Japanese occupation. By early summer 1944, the Japanese command interned all Allied citizens. We were taken to the University of Los Baños near Manila, where we lived behind barbed wire for nine months. My strongest memories revolve around hunger, hope, and the other people of faith, including Roman Catholic priests and nuns, whose sense of humor helped us strengthen our faith and broaden my ideas about the larger family of missionaries.

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For our missionary parents, we were headed home; for us four siblings, “home” was a vague concept, but it always included grandparents, extended family, and a brief respite at the residences reserved for returning missionaries in Ventnor, New Jersey. On my first day home from third grade in North Carolina, I was weepy. My mother checked areas of my head for wounds, asking if I had been in a fight. It took a while for me to admit the trauma of seeing so much food at school thrown into garbage cans. In fourth grade (Hartford, Connecticut), my class assembled Red Cross kits in small boxes with basics (washrag, toothbrush, soap, etc.). I told my teacher privately that I had recently received one of these. She was delighted to have me explain to my classmates the relevance of this project.

In less than two years we were back in Hainan. My father traveled extensively into the interior, assisting in postwar relief; my mother, a certified teacher, was an educator and homeschooled the four of us while also teaching in the mission school. In 1947 my older sister and I went to Shanghai American School, but in April 1948 we were evacuated with classmates on the USS Repose (a navy hospital ship), as Chairman Mao’s military successes exceeded U.S. expectations. The decision to return to the United States was difficult but obvious. Did we want to risk more time in an internment camp—run by Communist China?

Now we had almost a year in the Ventnor missionary residences, and I finished eighth grade without any evacuations. We moved to Haddonfield, New Jersey, where we lived my high school days without a move. My English teachers would question some words in my essays that were Hainanese, words that had quietly joined our family vocabulary. We were very involved in the Presbyterian Church and in all of its activities. Several of the Haddonfield churches sponsored a weekend with international students from nearby universities. After church that Sunday our family hosted a Lincoln University student from Cameroon. He later attended Temple University, where he wrote a doctoral dissertation on mission.

College Studies and Travels

My Sunday school teacher in Haddonfield was an accomplished physicist who had worked on the Manhattan Project, which developed the first atomic bombs. I followed his advice that I attend Davidson College, where I enjoyed every moment except ROTC. Nevertheless, I won the five-dollar prize in the contest to create Davidson’s ROTC motto: “Parati sed Paci” (Prepared, but for Peace).

Between my first two years at Davidson, I spent the summer in a World Council of Churches work camp in Finland, building a church on Aspö, a small island. It was part of the post–World War II reconstruction emphasis, and I reveled in befriending students my age from around the world. We completed only the foundation; a later work camp finished the church. It is ironic that the tune to the hymn “We Would Be Building Temples Still Undone” is Finländia! During the World Student Christian Federation meeting in Finland in 1968, we visited the completed church. I realized that my two very different pilgrimages were symbolized both by a building and by a living group of students with a mission.

The Junior Year Abroad program of the Presbyterian Church fascinated me. Many students favored Paris, London, Madrid, and other historic centers of learning. What intrigued me about
the Presbyterian JYA was its emphasis on areas then called “the Third World.” Not only did I go to the American University of Beirut in Lebanon in 1956, but I also remained and graduated (1958). My parents returned to Asia as fraternal workers with the Church of Christ in Phetburi, Thailand, my father as pastor, my mother as teacher. I was closer to “home,” especially since Beirut appeared to be the stopover for many who were en route to or from Thailand bearing my parents’ gifts and messages.

For the first time since World War II, I was encountering as an adult some theological issues that would strengthen my faith. Lebanon became a base for many travels and adventures. One incident was a weekend trip to Jerusalem with fellow AUB students. After visiting the Holy Sepulcher and the Garden Tomb the same day, our evening discussion quickly raised the question: How could Christ have two tombs? If we believe in his resurrection, what difference does it make how many tombs local tourist agencies offer to global visitors? In Nazareth, there are at least three Churches of the Annunciation! Actually, the difference is real for those then and today who support their families on one of the major sources of income: tourism. In some cases, these families are Palestinians who lost homes and livelihood in 1948.

Another issue of faith and reason that coalesced in my last two college years was the confusion I first felt about modern Israel, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. (I later developed these thoughts in a college course I teach: “Ethno Religious Political Nationalisms in the Middle East.”)

The confusion of first-century Christians became more real to me. Since many Jews believed that the Messiah would bring freedom from Roman occupation, they asked Paul where this new Israel was if Christ was really the Messiah. He replied that followers of Christ formed a “spiritual Israel” that was based not on political boundaries but on faith. The followers of Christ did not displace Judaism but joined in one branch of the spiritual family of Abraham, which now included women, slaves, non-Jews—all who accepted that the life, ministry, death, and resurrection of Christ had personal and communal significance. Historic Judaism, as I learned, was not to be confused with Israel or modern political Zionism, nor with most Christian Zionists. On many weekends in Beirut I visited various Arab Christian churches, many of which had roots in the first century. I also visited an Orthodox Jewish synagogue whose members did not go to Israel after 1948, because for this Jewish community in Beirut, their Messiah had not yet come.

Travels during academic breaks were educational. In the summer of 1957 I joined another work camp sponsored by the World Council of Churches, this one in Cameroon constructing a Protestant youth center. Afterward, I hitchhiked with a Dutch participant to Gabon, passing through Lambaréné, site of Dr. Schweitzer’s famous hospital. (He was then in Europe performing organ concerts to raise funds for his hospital.) In Libreville, the capital, I was intrigued by the role U.S. missionaries had played since 1842. I visited a cemetery near the old church where African Christians, missionaries, sea captains, merchants, explorers, and others about whom I would later learn more were buried. In three years, Gabon would become independent from France. I returned to Lebanon by way of Ghana and Algeria, even as the latter was still at war for its independence from France.

During the Christmas break of 1957–58, I made a long pilgrimage by land to visit my uncle and aunt who were missionaries in Iran. Buses took me to Damascus, Baghdad, and Teheran, but I could spend only one night with my relatives if I was to return in time for classes. The train passed through Mosul and southern Turkey. Buses and trains were the best way to be close to the people despite the language barriers.

My experiences in Lebanon—academic, friendship-building, and clarification of theology—were sandwiched between several political events that emphasized the reality of the Cold War. Weeks after I arrived there in 1956, the USSR invaded Hungary. Several Hungarian sailors jumped ship in Beirut. Soon after, Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt after President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Eisenhower ordered their withdrawal on the basis that invading other nations was against international law. In 1958 our graduation at AUB was delayed when Eisenhower sent U.S. marines into Lebanon following the July 14 coup in Iraq. The marines were told they might face Soviet troops. One navy chaplain told us a few days later that he had not had so many baptisms since the day before the battle of Iwo Jima, in February 1945. The marines met no resistance.

Seminary and More Travels

My junior and senior years in Lebanon were definitive in my decision to study at Princeton Theological Seminary. Before leaving the Middle East, I helped build homes near West Jerusalem for Jews from Iraq. Sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, volunteers included Israeli Jews and Arabs and several other nationalities—including Germans. On a trip to Eilat, the southernmost port of Israel, the water was bitter, but Coca-Cola, the next option, was costly. Only later did I realize that this was the area where the biblical narrative has the Israelites complaining about the bitter water.

My most profound epiphany at Princeton was the discovery that King James’ wise scholars intimately knew their Hebrew and Greek. The Great Commission in the original Greek calls on Jesus’ followers to “Go into all the world and disciple. . . .” Most modern translations make the verb “disciple” into a noun object: “Go and make disciples.” Previous to seminary, I would have seen little distinction here, but I came to interpret the past and live in the present assured that being a disciple was a result of God’s love for us that required no other results. Those who live discipleship, nurture faith, and seek peace with justice should gather others into a community of faith.

Over Christmas (1958–59) I was a delegate to the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) quadrennial in Athens, Ohio. Martin Luther King Jr. was a keynote speaker; so were D. T. Niles and Lesslie Newbigin. I did not take notes, but the theme I remembered was that the new frontiers of mission were not geographic, but ideological—rascism, rapid social change, urbanization, new nationalisms, and so forth. When I pursued a seminary year abroad at University College, in Legon, Ghana, I built on these ideas. There I learned that being a disciple included an understanding of the impact of Western colonialism on neighboring
African nations, many of which became independent during the academic year that I was there (1960–61).

On the way to Ghana in 1960, I participated in Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA) in Senegal, building a school with Africans and multicultural volunteers from the United States. James Robinson, a pastor in Harlem, New York City, was the founder of OCA. Some students from the United States had never before worked as part of a multiracial group. In returning from Ghana, I flew to Brazil and happened upon a conference of fraternal workers/missionaries representing the Central Brazil Mission. Of many issues confronted, the key ones dealt with the growing Brazilian nationalism, urbanization, and secularism: how should the church respond? While going by train to Bolivia, I discovered that the approaches of the New Tribes Mission differed widely from those of Presbyterians in more urbanized Brazil.

My last travel by train on that trip was to Chile. Hitchhiking up the Pan-American Highway, I had a totally serendipitous experience in Peru: I arrived at the Wycliffe guesthouse as the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council were ending their last meeting, in Lima, as separate entities. The merger of the two demonstrated in fact and word what was a common theme at the time: the church is mission. After the conference, I could not resist an offer to be the fourth passenger in a seaplane. We paid a brief visit to the Piro, who live over the Andes along the headwaters of the Amazon. I was awed by my co-passengers: Esther Matteson, who was bringing the first edition of the Piro Scriptures to Juan Sebastian, the Piro catechist and co-translator; Bishop Leslie Newbigin of the Church of South India; and Sir Kenneth Grubb of the Church Missionary Society. I continued up the Pan-American Highway and finally arrived by bus, exhausted, in Texas.

My last year at Princeton Seminary inspired me to consider how I would disciple. Pouring concrete for a summer offered much time to ponder. The Presbyterian Church, building on the "nongeographic frontiers" of mission outlined at the Athens, Ohio, quadrennial, initiated a Frontier Internship in Mission. I was ordained into ministry in 1962 as a Frontier Intern, working with the Paris Mission Society while learning French, and was part of a mobile team working with youth in Gabon/Cameroon/Congo (Brazzaville) on frontiers the SVM quadrennial had earlier identified: "new nationalism, racism, and rapid social change."

The day I arrived in Libreville, Gabon, in the summer of 1963, there was a coup in neighboring Congo (Brazzaville).

La Mission Protestante had become the Gabon Evangelical (Protestant) Church even before Gabon became independent from France in August 1960. As the last French missionaries were retiring, I was the first expatriate to work under the new Gabonese church leadership. The U.S. Embassy had problems classifying me—Peace Corps? businessman? missionary?—but they appreciated my presence. James Robinson had asked me to lead an Operation Crossroads Africa group in Gabon designed for multicultural laypeople, mostly from Harlem and New Jersey. We built a footbridge linking Dr. Schweitzer’s Lambaréné hospital to the Protestant school and church that were founded by U.S. and French missions in the 1880s. Schweitzer, who had come to Gabon in 1913, spoke at the dedication of our new bridge. I was in Libreville for the only coup to date in Gabon, February, 1964. The French military reversed it, reinstalling President Léon M’ba.

Returning to the United States, I realized that my pilgrimage abroad was sound orientation to a United States that was itself undergoing rapid social and political change. I soon learned that the most pressing issues in the United States were the war in Vietnam and human rights (including feminism, civil rights, and South Africa). The church’s mission in these and related issues was a challenge. Many people were for interfaith understanding and cooperation that involved multifaith gatherings under one roof. I developed an understanding of the term “ecumenical” as people of faith who live and act with the understanding that the church and the world are “under one roof.” After all, God did not so love “the church” in John’s gospel, but “the world.”

UCM Mission and the War in Vietnam

At age 29 my first salaried job was to direct field staff for what would become the University Christian Movement (UCM), as it emerged from the cooperation between the Student Volunteer Movement and the National Student Christian Federation. The offices were attached to the National Council of Churches through their Department of Higher Education. I was still young and single and enjoyed traveling. Much of my mission was to visit campus ministries across the nation and discuss how Christians should respond to the issues of the day and relate to fellow students of all faiths and of no faith.

Women students were becoming more involved in the leadership of UCM and in campus organizations, as were African Americans and other minorities. I was active helping residents register to vote in Georgia, Mississippi, and Chicago. In earlier international experiences, friends always came to me when they were confused about the United States. During the school integration issues in Little Rock, my friends assumed I was from Little Rock. When civil rights workers were murdered in Mississippi, I was from Mississippi, and when President Kennedy was assassinated, I was from Dallas. Now working on these issues in the United States, I was often called an outside agitator.

My greatest cause of agitation was our war in Vietnam and what the role of Christians should be. I was not for burning draft cards or sitting down to block traffic. I had many historical and theological reasons for joining the peace movement, but one of my principles was creative and effective nonviolent action. I cannot even guess how many discussions on how many campuses and in how many committee meetings took place in the mid-to-late 1960s in which we discussed war, racism, feminism, and the mission of the church. I did (with much thought and prayer) include my draft card among those that William Sloane Coffin (then chaplain at Yale) took to the Department of Justice. Vice President Agnew had declared on national TV that men who refused service in Vietnam were cowards and unpatriotic.

The Presbyterian General Assembly had urged members to act on their conscience.

Over nine hundred men, mostly clergy, sent their draft cards via Chaplain Coffin to affirm that, with draft immunity as clergy, we were opposed to a war that was illegal, immoral, and very unwise. General Hershey, who headed the national draft, immediately reclassified us as I-A. The lawsuit that followed (Bucher vs. Selective Service System) was not about the war, but about...
Doctoral Studies and College Pilgrimages

At that time, I believed that my actions precluded employment in the church, and I turned to my interest in Africa as a possibility for teaching. The University of Wisconsin–Madison accepted me on a track for comparative world history, with Africa and the Middle East as research areas. I wrote my doctoral dissertation on the history of the coastal Mpongwe of Gabon, using archives from Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries and commercial agents, mostly from France and Britain. My previous experience as a Frontier Intern in Gabon (1962–65) proved helpful, and a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship to return in 1973 provided richer research possibilities, including oral traditions from Mpongwe elders. Three-year-old son Clif by my first wife, Emily Clifford, opened many doors to identify with the Gabonese neighborhood where we lived.

While in the United States, I had joined yet one more of the many creative and relevant programs devised by Margaret Flory, once a missionary to Asia. Designated as Bi-National Servants, we rooted ourselves in the life of the world Christian community. Having served in another part of the world, we remained in close touch with that second home and continued a dialogue on the meaning of mission today. While my second area was Gabon, I also was involved in the global attempt to end apartheid in South Africa.

Upon finishing my Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin, I was called as part-time pastor of Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church in Cottage Grove, a suburb of Madison. My other job was consulting with K-12 teachers on African curriculum—mostly social studies at the high school level. One volunteer activity was organizing communicant classes in area churches to visit the mosque at the university and to listen to Muslim students discuss Islam.

In the late 1970s the PCUSA asked me to be on the committee to draft a peacemaking statement for the 192nd General Assembly (1980). “Peacemaking: The Believers’ Calling” was received at the same General Assembly that reunited two branches of the church that had split during the Civil War. My later regret was that the document did not say more about peacemaking as a step toward slowing down an ecological apocalypse: there will be no peace on earth until there is peace with earth.

Suddenly, serendipitously, and providentially, a phone call came from Presbyterian-affiliated Austin College in Sherman, Texas. They had secured my data from a digital base; by 1985 I was chaplain and associate professor in the humanities. After 2004 I became chaplain emeritus, but I continue to teach courses related to Africa and the Middle East. My wife, Cat Garlit, and I led Austin College sponsored “pilgrimages” off-campus and into the world to listen to the voices of others. Most of these spring breaks involved pilgrimages to Central American countries, but off-campus January term classes that were for credit included travel to India, the Middle East twice, and West Africa thrice: “Timbuktu and Beyond”; “South Africa and Namibia after Apartheid” was in 1996; and in 2000, “Cuba and Haiti: Island Neighbors: Unique Opposing Paradigms for the New Millennium.” My mission was to provide for college students the kind of experiences that had shaped my life when I was their age.

One spring break pilgrimage to El Salvador was well after the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero by members of the military. More recently, seven Jesuit priests had been killed, along with their housekeeper and her daughter, and thousands of Salvadorans had died in massacres. Our Austin College group entered the Chapel of Archbishop Romero in San Salvador and were shocked as they turned to exit. Across the interior back walls were fourteen large paintings, each portraying tortured and captive Salvadorans. The students saw this as grotesque for a church, as outrageous, blatant brandishing of suffering in a church! In fact, artist Roberto Huezlo intended for the viewer to see the crucified Jesus in the tortured Salvadorans in these paintings.

Of all my January terms, the 1998 one to the Middle East was special. In an August 1997 civil ceremony I had married Cat Garlit (a third-generation missionary kid, who had grown up in Peru and Ecuador); she was a key co-leader in taking many students to Egypt, Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, and later to West Africa, Cuba, and Haiti. We took a break at Mount Sinai to have a religious wedding ceremony by the well at the mountain’s base, where scriptural narrative notes that Moses first met Zipporah, his wife-to-be. St. Catherine’s Monastery is built over that well. We made our public vows on top of Mount Sinai at sunrise. Attendance at the wedding was not required, but all the students were there. Thomas Nuckols, professor of religion emeritus, officiated. Archimandrite Justin (a Texan), who guided our group and approved the nuptial use of the location, is the monastery librarian who directs the project of digitally copying their ancient religious texts.

My last pilgrimage to Hainan, in 1997, was three generational: my widower father at age ninety, two sisters: Anna Louise and Priscilla Jo, and my son, Clifford. The church welcomed us with much compassion, the choir sang parts of Handel’s Messiah, and we were surrounded by love and hope.

Pilgrimages in mission have no end.
The papers of Eva Dykes Spicer (1898–1974), who, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, taught at Ginling College, a Christian women’s college in Nanking [Nanjing], China, from 1923 to 1951 and then went on to be principal of a women’s college in Nigeria with the Church Missionary Society, were donated to the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London in 2006. This rich collection of papers comprising her extensive correspondence with family, friends, and colleagues, as well as personal items, photographs, lecture notes, texts of talks and sermons, articles, committee papers, and other materials almost entirely relating to her time in China, has now been cataloged online and for the first time made available for research. In recent years attention has focused on the American context of China’s Christian Colleges, culminating in the publication, in 2009, of China’s Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, edited by Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer. Spicer was one of the very few non-Americans on the foreign faculty at Ginling, and her papers provide a unique perspective on college life over nearly three decades. They complement documentation to be found in the archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, at Yale Divinity Library; the Second Historical Archives, in Nanjing; and the collections of the personal papers of other faculty members such as Matilda Calder Thurston, in the Burke Library Archives in New York.

On a personal level, letters in the collection cast light on Spicer’s relationships with her family at home and those formed with her colleagues, students, and Ginling College alumnae—her “family in China.” They reflect Spicer’s very English background and reveal her difficulties in adjusting not just to Chinese society but also to the strongly American character of campus life in Nanking. They are also revealing of her distinctive attributes: her strong Christian faith, her care and concern for others, her need for affection, and her ability to attract affection in return.

Spicer’s background was not that of a typical missionary. Daughter of a solidly middle-class, even wealthy, family, she was educated at socially elite and expensive private schools. The family’s prosperity was derived from a leading paper manufacturing and stationery business. Her father, Albert Spicer, created a baronet in 1906, was a Liberal Member of Parliament for many years and a driving force in promoting nonconformist, and particularly Congregationalist, causes. For twenty-five years he was treasurer of the London Missionary Society (LMS), largely a Congregationalist body. The family lived in some style in London, at Lancaster Gate near Kensington Gardens, where Eva was born on May 29, 1898. She was one of eleven children, in birth order: (Albert) Dykes, Marion, Bertha, Grace, Stewart, Janet, Lancelot, Gwendolen, Eva, Olga, and Ursula. The eight Spicer daughters received a good education; at least three went on to university, their father wishing them to be capable of earning their own living. He dissuaded them from taking up salaried posts, however, preferring that they undertake work of a voluntary nature. This made for some difficulties for the older daughters; the younger ones, like Eva, were more able to go their own way.

In 1917 she went up to Oxford, where she studied history at Somerville College. At the university she was an active member of the Student Christian Movement and, in her final year, was elected Senior Student of her college. Almost immediately after graduating in 1920, she wrote to the secretary of the LMS inquiring about opportunities for missionary service. She said later that she had been attracted as a child “by the romance of the appeal” and that all she had learned had, “on the whole, tended to strengthen rather than weaken” that “early desire.” After teacher training at the London Day Training College, later the Institute of Education, and a spell at Mansfield College, where she took courses in pastoral and teaching work, she left for China in August 1923. She had been appointed to teach religious studies and to assist in directing religious activities at Ginling College in Nanking.

A New Women’s College in Nanking

Ginling College had been founded in 1913 by a number of American mission boards keen to provide tertiary education for female students emerging from Christian schools in eastern and central China and was the first institution in China to award accredited university degrees to female students. The founders had very much in mind the concept of a liberal arts college exemplified by select women’s colleges in the United States such as Mount Holyoke College and Smith College. The founding president of Ginling, appointed in 1913, was Matilda Calder Thurston, a graduate of Mount Holyoke. In 1921 Smith College recognized Ginling as “its little sister in the Orient” and provided considerable support over the years through funding and by temporary faculty placements. In 1923 the LMS agreed to support the college by contributing the services “of a self-supporting lady missionary.” That same year Spicer arrived at the college, very much the product of an English educational system.

Almost immediately she was immersed in intensive language study at the University of Nanking, it being a requirement for foreign faculty at Ginling to be competent in Chinese, despite English being the main language of instruction. She told her parents that she felt “doubly a foreigner in strange lands.” “Nothing but experience,” she wrote, “could tell you what a crowd of young and enthusiastic American missionaries are like.” Each day began with prayer. “The Almighty,” she thought, “must get rather tired of being asked to help us study this great language. I half expect a voice to say . . . ‘Take it as said.’” Spicer also felt “doubly a foreigner” at Ginling, a college run very much on American lines and with a majority of the faculty American. She was relieved to find her colleagues a “more subdued type of

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American.” Most of them, she reported, were “delightful,” while Matilda Thurston was “a dear.” She added, “I have a particularly soft spot for her because she is so nice and British looking.” But she felt cut off from her compatriots, especially from other members of the British missionary community. The nearest was a group at Shanghai, a six-hour journey away, and she could travel there only very infrequently. Early in 1925 her parents, together with their youngest daughter, Ursula, visited China and spent some time in Ginling, leaving Ursula behind for a few months as a companion cum assistant. In what seems a very deliberate display of English tradition, the two sisters organized a May 1 festival at the college “with Robin Hood and Maid Marian, who was also the May queen, and Jack of the Lantern, and Morris dancers, milkmaids, village children, flower girls, chimney sweeps etc.” For good measure her sister also put on some scenes from Shakespeare’s Midsummer Night’s Dream.10

It took time for Spicer to get to know China or any Chinese. She told her sister Bertha that she knew her “letters have terribly little about China in them, but it’s awfully difficult to know what to write.”79 She had endeavored to mix informally with Ginling students from the outset, taking some of her meals at their tables. This meant eating Chinese dishes, which she grew to love. When she commenced teaching in her second year, her courses included Old Testament studies, the expansion of Christianity, and the social and ethical teachings of Christ. She also acted as faculty adviser to the very active branch of the YWCA in the college. Ginling students, she wrote, seemed very capable and had much more poise than English girls, but they also relied rather more on the faculty for help. This she sometimes felt unable to give, bemoaning her inability through ignorance of their backgrounds to fully understand their problems and queries.12 Gradually, as she got to know them better, she was pleased to find herself able to like them. Perhaps, in any case, their backgrounds were not so dissimilar from her own, since many came from socially privileged homes and from politically or militarily influential families. Whatever their cultural differences, Spicer seems to have gotten on very well with her students. Throughout her time at Ginling she took very seriously her role as mentor and adviser, in personal as well as in spiritual matters.

The Kuomintang and Christian Education

In 1926 forces allied to the Kuomintang, the nationalist movement founded by Sun Yat-sen after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, set out from the south of China with the aim of rooting out the various warlords in the north and establishing a united government. By the spring of 1927 this diverse force, known as the Northern Expedition Army, under the command of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, was approaching Nanking. In early March Spicer reported a tense atmosphere in the city but did not think that either she or Ginling was in danger. As the army entered Nanking on March 23, militant elements began seeking out foreign residents. A number were killed, including the dean of Nanking University, an American. There was also widespread looting and rioting. American and British gunboats on the Yangtze River attempted to restore order by firing on the rioters. At Ginling, a group of Chinese faculty, with support from an army officer, a brother of one of the students, took foreign members of staff to a safe hiding place. The next day the Ginling party and other foreign residents, mainly from the university, were escorted to the river and waiting gunboats, which took them to the safety of the International Settlement at Shanghai. From there Spicer wrote to her parents on April 2 to say that she felt very dazed after such unexpected and dramatic events. She was trying to work out what to do next but was coming to the conclusion that she would leave China to come home, even though that might look as if she were running away. She would plan to return in September 1928 if she were wanted.13

Her decision was not as startling as it sounds. She was anticipating her prearranged furlough by only a few months. Nonetheless, the break came at a convenient time. She had been finding the situation difficult and depressing, both in the college and in the country. Left-wing elements among the Kuomintang were vociferous in their opposition to Christian education and to Christianity, and Spicer had little confidence in Thurston’s judgment and leadership at such a critical time. Nor was there, she thought, an “outstanding Chinese woman” on the staff. If, as seemed likely, teaching in religion at the college would have to be cut back, was there, she wondered, any place for her at Ginling?14

During her extended furlough she thought carefully about her future. Having received assurances that she would be needed, she returned to Ginling in September 1928, writing to her parents that it seemed “very natural to be back.” Both in Nanking and at the college there had been changes. Nanking had become the seat of the new government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, and at the college Thurston had been succeeded by Wu Yi-fang as president. Wu had graduated from Ginling in 1919, among the first female students in China to do so, and had then gone to the United States to pursue postgraduate studies. She was awarded a doctorate in biology at the University of Michigan in 1928. That same year she replaced Thurston as president of the college, it having become a government requirement that all schools and colleges be headed by Chinese nationals.
Spicer was immediately impressed by Wu, who had, she considered, "taken hold of things wonderfully well." She wrote in some detail about Wu's inauguration as president in November 1928, a splendid affair with processions, speeches, and a banquet. Madame Chiang Kai-shek attended, as did representatives of all the Christian colleges in eastern China. It now fell to Wu to guide the college through to registration with the Ministry of Education, a thorny task involving negotiations not only with the government but also with the Ginling College Committee in New York. That she succeeded in satisfying both the government and the New York committee, achieving full registration for the college in 1930, is a tribute to her considerable leadership and diplomatic skills. Both parties declared themselves satisfied with a statement of purpose that ensured that the college "would conform to the highest standards of educational efficiency, promote social welfare and high ideals of citizenship, and develop the highest type of character, in accordance with the original purpose of the five Christian mission boards which were its founders." The rewards of registration were felt almost immediately: student numbers increased, the atmosphere in the college improved, and the government began to show favor both to the college and to its president. Madame Chiang Kai-shek frequently attended college events; she and her sisters donated a building in 1933, while Chiang Kai-shek found time to attend the commencement ceremony in the following year and to address the student body.

The negative impact of registration—the disbanding of the religious department and the downgrading of religion as a subject within the college—presumably affected Spicer more than anyone else. She was, however, upbeat in her 1930 report. She wrote, in a section marked "not to be printed," that they had "put the courses on religion in the department of philosophy" in the new prospectus. Nobody had raised any objection. So far, she thought, the new regulations had made "no difference whatever." But she was concerned at the "increasing attitude of indifference to religious matters" among students, reflecting, she thought, the "different regime in the middle schools." Even among the Christian students she encountered at a conference, it was clear that the "dominating thing in the student mind is the need of China. If religion in general, and Christianity in particular, can help to meet that need they will welcome it, otherwise, not. Any idea of putting God first, and their country afterwards is as yet far from most of their minds." Overall, however, Spicer felt much settled. She missed England and her home life, but not so acutely. She had previously been unhappy at what she saw as a lack of unified direction at Ginling. Now, with Wu as president, "an almost ideal person to work for and under," she felt reassured that Ginling was making a "real contribution . . . to the cause of women and Christianity in China." It must have helped too that Nanking, despite some alarms, was more peaceful, although that would not last.

Migration to Western China

Spicer spent the summer vacation of 1937 with a close friend, Li Dze-djin, a Ginling graduate and colleague, and her three sisters, at their house at Kuling, a popular hill-station about 300 miles southwest of Nanking. Here they became aware of the Japanese attacks on the Chinese mainland. There were air raid warnings, and they could hear the sound of distant bombing. By September, when the new academic year should have started, Nanking was being bombed on an almost daily basis, and it was judged too dangerous to begin the new session there. Spicer traveled to Wuchang, where a group of Ginling students were based at Huachung (Huazhong) Christian University. Another unit was housed in Shanghai, and a third in Chengtu (Chengdu) in western China. At the end of 1937 Nanking fell to the Japanese, and it was decided that the college should abandon the Ginling site altogether, apart from a small group headed by the dean of studies, Minnie Vautrin, who stayed at her post with the aim of securing the campus as part of the International Safety Zone in the city. The rest of the Ginling faculty and students made the long trek to the campus of the West China Union University (WCUU) at Chengtu, in Sichuan Province, which eventually housed not only Ginling but also several other migrated institutions. After a short spell in Shanghai, Spicer arrived there in September 1938.

Her immediate reaction was to feel how remote the place was, with no daily newspapers to keep her in touch with the outside world. This was particularly agonizing after the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany in September 1939. "How much more I mind England being at war," she wrote to her sisters, "than I do China even though I do mind that quite a lot." But she had her beloved radio, given her a few years earlier, on which it was sometimes possible to hear "the cultured tones of the BBC." She postponed her furlough, due in 1939, until 1940, first traveling to the United States before going on to Britain, where she remained until September 1941. Here she heard the sad news of the death of Minnie Vautrin, the heroic defender of the Ginling campus in Nanking, where up to 10,000 Chinese women and children had been sheltered during the massacre of 1937–38. Vautrin had returned to the United States in 1940, worn down by her experiences, and some months later had committed suicide. In a long letter to Matilda Thurston, sent in August 1941, Spicer wrote that, while very sad at the news, she was not really surprised. She had been a close friend of Vautrin and realized how damaged she must have been by the "three years of terrible experiences with the Japanese." Vautrin, she wrote, "believed in purity and peace and . . . had been overwhelmed by bestiality and war; she believed in love and reconciliation, and she could not but be aware all around her of hate and bitterness. So her own tiredness mingled with the fate of the world." Spicer was grateful aware of the support she herself received from her own close-knit family, but as she pointed out, Vautrin had "no family to stand back of her in her time of difficulty" and had had to cope with her depression and mental torment alone.

In the following month, September 1941, Spicer set out from London to return to China via South Africa and India. It was not an easy journey. As she told the LMS, "The Pacific War broke out when I was between Durban and Colombo." On reaching Delhi, she found that all visas for China had been canceled and she had to apply for a new one, necessitating a six-week delay. Not for Spicer, Ginling's need came first, and she flew back in August 1948 for what turned out to be the last brief chapter of her time in China.
until February 1942 did she get back to Chengtu, where, after an absence of eighteen months, she noticed a huge rise in the cost of living, as well as a widespread lowering of morale. She now found herself having to teach history, since the college had been forced to close its department of philosophy, although she was allowed to teach one course in the sociology of religion and also a course in comparative religion at Nanking Theological Seminary, now at WCUU. Throughout her time in Chengtu Spicer seems to have enjoyed her wider role in university affairs, chairing both the Advisory Committee for Joint Religious Activities of the different institutions at WCUU and also the Committee for Student Evangelism in Isolated Universities. She was also pleased to find, for the first time, LMS colleagues in the same city as herself and, rejoicing to feel herself at the “centre of the LMS in Free China,” joined their local committee.23

Notes
1. Eva Dykes Spicer’s papers and materials are housed at Univ. of London, SOAS Library, PP MS 92, Papers of Eva Dykes Spicer. To search the SOAS Archive catalog, go to http://archives.soas.ac.uk
7. This was in 1919, a year before Oxford University awarded degrees to its female students. Eva Spicer, graduating in 1920, was in the first class of students in which females were able to receive degrees.
8. See CWM-LMS Archive, LMS Committee Minutes, Book 11, 1922–27, p. 43. para. 6. LMS is now part of the Council for World Mission (CWM), formed in 1977. The CWM-LMS archives are located at SOAS.
9. Spicer Papers, PP MS 92, Letters to her parents, October and November 1923.
10. Spicer Papers, PP MS 92, Letters to her parents, 1925.
13. Spicer Papers, PP MS 92, Letters to her parents, 1927.
14. Ibid.
15. Spicer papers, PP MS 92, Letters to her parents, 1928.

Conclusion
It took time for Spicer to become accustomed to life at Ginling, where initially she felt so much a foreigner. She seriously contemplated leaving in 1927 when her role as teacher of religious studies was being eroded by new government regulations and because she had considerable doubts about the way the college was being led. From the arrival of Wu Yi-fang as president in 1928, Spicer’s allegiance to Ginling was total. She remained a staunch and trusted member of the college, through all the upheavals and vicissitudes of revolution and war, until her final and reluctant exit early in 1951. The college barely outlived her departure, merging at the end of the year with Nanjing University and almost entirely dropping its liberal arts curriculum. The events of 1951 might have spelled the end of the college, but did not mean the end of the Ginling family. Generations of students found that the Ginling experience had given them a collective identity of which they could be proud. Theirs was a community to which Spicer also felt she belonged, and in retirement she took great care to maintain links with the extended Ginling family. She kept in touch with Matilda Thurston until the latter’s death in 1958 and with other former colleagues and students. She wrote annual letters to Ginling friends each Christmas and made several journeys visiting groups of Ginling alumnae in many parts of the world, finding these “a wonderful renewal of friendship and fellowship.”
The Legacy of Horace Grant Underwood

Samuel Y. Pang

In 1908, his twenty-third year as missionary to Korea, Horace Grant Underwood wrote The Call of Korea. For Underwood, the call was as urgent as ever. In his introduction, A. T. Pierson likened the book to Moses’ silver trumpet making a “clear clarion peal.” This peal still rang strong in Underwood’s own questions at the back of the book, which not only exhorted fellow Christians to join him in the mission field of Korea but also showed his firm belief in the country, its people, and the work.

At the head of the questions for chapter 5, “The Past and Present of Missions in Korea,” Underwood wrote: “OBJECT.—to realize that this is Korea’s Crisis Hour, and that the church should now take advantage of her golden opportunity.”

Before Korea

Horace Grant Underwood was born in London on July 19, 1859, to John Underwood and Elisabeth Grant Maire, the fourth of their six children. Horace’s wife, Dr. Lillias Horton Underwood, who wrote her husband’s biography, traced his vision and work for unity among denominations, nations, and peoples to his maternal great-grandfather Alexander Waugh, an influential and active pastor in London. She credited his father, a chemist and inventor, with fostering in his son a delight in the devotional life and with planting in him from an early age “an eager hope and longing for the return of the Lord.” John Underwood knitted the reading of Scripture, regular prayers, and evangelistic work into the daily fabric of the lives of his children, a practice that continued after his wife died, which happened when Horace was only six years old. When Horace Underwood was twelve, his father decided, because of financial difficulty, to move the family to the United States, where Horace received his education. In 1881 he graduated from New York University with a bachelor of arts and entered the Dutch Reformed (now New Brunswick) Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Here his childhood resolution to learn Korean, Underwood started English classes, which he saw as a means for not only “drinking in Korean” but also “getting in close touch with the native, studying his habits, methods of thought, and really coming to know him from his own side.”

It was during his time in New Brunswick that Underwood first gave serious thought to Korea, finally opened to the West, where Horace received his education. In 1881 he graduated from New York University with a bachelor of arts and entered the Dutch Reformed (now New Brunswick) Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Here his childhood resolution to learn Korean, Underwood started English classes, which he saw as a means for not only “drinking in Korean” but also “getting in close touch with the native, studying his habits, methods of thought, and really coming to know him from his own side.”

He fitted up a guest room, a Korean sarangbang, and invited his Korean teachers and their friends to talk and smoke, using the setting as an educational opportunity for both the missionary and the Koreans. In this setting a Mr. No, a scholar curious about the foreign religion, became the first convert. He had covertly taken home the gospels of Matthew and Luke in Chinese and came back the next morning, having stayed up all night reading, and “casting all fears aside, boldly drew the two volumes from his sleeves, and holding them up, exclaimed, . . . It’s grand!”

Underwood remarked twenty-five years later, “As we looked at this man, we seemed to see a vision of those others behind him who would follow; we knew that day had begun to dawn in dark Korea and felt sure that one believer was a pledge to us from God of a people whom He would make His own.”

From the very beginning, Underwood experienced success through using books, an approach that fit well in a culture that revered learning and in which books were precious. As soon as he had some command of the Korean language, he took this model out into the streets. He would sit under a tree on a well-frequented street or beside a medicinal spring, take out a book, and start reading. When people approached with questions, Underwood would “explain to them the book, its truths, and what it meant; but, of course, in all this, it was necessary for us to find some common ground on which we both stood, and lead them gradually, from what was, to them, the known to the care of, but if they tried to force themselves on the Korean people intentionally, they were killed. Lillias Underwood noted that, at that time, Korea was “still very much terra incognita.” All that people knew, if they knew anything, she continued, was that it was “an island somewhere near China where Jesuit priests who many years before had secretly effected an entrance had been caught, tortured and killed.” Citing only one reason—that the Koreans had not heard the Gospel—Underwood pestered the Presbyterian Board of Missions until they finally agreed to send him to this unknown land with possibly savage people. With a generous donation of $6,000 by David W. McWilliams, the Presbyterian Missions Board appointed Horace Underwood as “clerical missionary” to Korea. On Easter Sunday, April 5, 1885, he arrived in Incheon, Korea. He was twenty-six years old, the first Presbyterian minister to enter the Hermit Kingdom. He came filled with eager hope and longing to see God’s kingdom come to this land.

Early Days in Korea

Underwood’s default mode of ministry was educational, whether in teaching the Gospel to Koreans or in teaching about Korea to American Christians. He began by founding a home and school for orphan boys early in 1886. Looking at the orphanage, which in 1905 would become the John D. Wells Academy for Christian Workers, Underwood envisioned a college and theological seminary in Korea. Lillias Underwood called this outlook “his far-visioned habit of mind.”

Even in these early stages, when he was still struggling to learn Korean, Underwood started English classes, which he saw as a means for not only “drinking in Korean” but also “getting in close touch with the native, studying his habits, methods of thought, and really coming to know him from his own side.”

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unknown.” The instinctive sensibility of a teacher in leading from “the known to the unknown” proved very successful, and Underwood used this model on his itinerations into the interior of the country, the first of which he made in November 1887. When he made the journey a third time, in the spring of 1889, he was accompanied by his wife, whom he had recently married, riding in a native chair. He had been the first foreigner to travel into the interior; she was the first white woman to do so. The journey was their honeymoon.

**Publishing: An Enduring Influence**

According to his wife, Underwood believed that “the Bible in the hands of the people can do the best preaching.” He saw an urgent need for a better translation of the Bible into Korean, and to this end he diligently studied the Korean language. Although John Ross and John McIntyre had translated the New Testament, their version was not suitable for use in Korea, since it incorporated too many Chinese characters and the printing was of low quality. After finishing the translation of the Gospel of Mark with Henry G. Appenzeller, on February 7, 1887, Underwood formed the Permanent Executive Bible Committee for the translation of the whole Bible into Korean. As chair of the committee, Underwood set two key criteria for the translation: (1) the Korean word closest in meaning to the original Greek or Hebrew was to be found, and (2) the writing style should be easily understood, even by those with the most basic education, while maintaining a reverent and clear tone. The result was an accurate translation using everyday Korean, with the New Testament published in 1906, followed by the Old Testament in 1911. By privileging the vernacular in the Korean Bible, Underwood democratized literacy in Korea, offering an easily accessible alternative to classic Chinese texts, which remained exclusive to the elite. His broad perspective, which sought to reach everyone with God’s Word, broke down traditional hierarchical obstacles to literacy.

Along with Bible translation, Underwood saw the pressing need to publish a dictionary and a grammar to help missionaries learn the Korean language. In 1889, after four years in the field, he published *A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language* and *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, invaluable tools that not only aided all missionaries to Korea for at least the following twenty-five years but also opened up the English language to Koreans.

In 1888, seeing how useful books could be in evangelization, Underwood sought support from the Religious Tract Society of London, the Tract Society of Toronto, and the American Tract Society for the Korean Religious Tract Society (now known as the Christian Literature Society), which was launched on June 15, 1890. This step marked the beginning of modern Korean publishing history, with the Korean vernacular being the main vehicle for carrying religious content. And in a culture that valued books and a keen understanding of the Korean people. These principles included the idea that people who converted should continue to live in their own neighborhoods, supporting themselves by their trades or businesses. Church government was to be set up in a way that gave preeminence to the local church. The church building should be one that the local people could build themselves and should fit in with the local style. Responsibility for outreach to unbelievers lay with local Christians, with those who first believed being trained through Bible classes to teach others.

Underwood’s principles of self-support were subsequently adopted as mission policy by all Korean churches except for the Methodist and Episcopal churches. With Korean Christians required to meet the needs of the church on their own, they were able to avoid any dependency on outsiders and to exercise agency and ownership in making their own decisions. For the first time, they were assuming the role of citizen in the modern sense, moving from the lower class of subservience to the middle class of self-determination.

Underwood’s stance of affirming that Korean missions were to be the work of Koreans can be seen as early as 1887, for on September 27 of that year he and fourteen believers established Saemanun Church, the first Korean church. Of these fourteen believers, twelve had been converted through Suh Sang Ryun from Manchuria. In baptizing and embracing as the first community of believers those who had voluntarily sought out Christianity, Underwood in effect helped Koreans to establish the first Korean church.

In 1905, through his leadership, all the denominational missionaries in Korea agreed to establish a united Korean church.

Underwood’s approach to mission theology can be summarized as “Korean Church.” He applied the core ideas of John L. Nevius’s *Methods of Mission Work* (1886) as principles of self-support, demonstrating both a good understanding of Nevius’s methods and a keen understanding of the Korean people. These principles included the idea that people who converted should continue to live in their own neighborhoods, supporting themselves by their trades or businesses. Church government was to be set up in a way that gave preeminence to the local church. The church building should be one that the local people could build themselves and should fit in with the local style. Responsibility for outreach to unbelievers lay with local Christians, with those who first believed being trained through Bible classes to teach others.

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founded on a Gospel-centered theology. Strong opposition from the mission boards, unfortunately, made these plans moot. But Underwood continued to seek unity in spite of denominational differences by working with all missionaries to do medical, educational, and publishing missions together.17

Medical Missions

On his arrival in Korea in 1885, Underwood began to work as a pharmacist at the Royal Hospital, Che Jong Won (Universal Helpfulness), where Horace Allen had been appointed head doctor by King Kojong after he had saved the life of Queen Min’s nephew. In March 1886, when a school of medicine was started, Underwood began teaching English, physics, and chemistry. This work was all he could do at a time when the freedom to practice the “new religion” and undertake missionary activity was restricted. Although Underwood is considered Korea’s first evangelistic missionary, his publicly sanctioned role at the time was as a teacher of modern education. He saw the pivotal role of medical missions “in opening closed doors everywhere” and praised the Presbyterian Board of Missions for its wisdom in initially sending more doctors than clerics.18 He invited to Korea Dr. Oliver R. Avison, who was from Canada and who would go on to establish Severance Hospital and Medical School (later Severance Medical College) in Seoul. Underwood supported Avison in this endeavor despite opposition from missionaries who feared that it would detract from evangelistic work. This friendship, begun when Underwood was traveling throughout the United States and Canada making pleas for more workers to come to Korea, lasted a lifetime. A lasting tribute to this friendship can be seen in Seoul today, with Yonsei University standing on the same campus as the tall, state-of-the-art buildings of Severance Hospital.

Education and Yonsei University

From the very beginning, Underwood made sure that the home and school he founded was a rigorous school preparing boys as future leaders in society rather than just a home that fed and cared for a few orphans. The king of Korea himself recognized the caliber of the education, asking that the top two students every year enter his service. Even in his earliest days in Korea, Underwood evidently had set his sights on raising leaders by establishing a college in Seoul, a natural extension of his big-picture approach to missions and of what was going on in the field, especially on the itinerant trips. Everywhere the missionaries went, when tracts and Bibles were distributed, literacy rates would reach as high as 85–90 percent.19 As Underwood’s son Horace Horton Underwood observed, “The very system of gathering groups of men and women together periodically in hundreds of town and villages promotes discussion, interest and thought, and even aside from the teaching of reading and writing, which usually forms a part of such class work, makes them a very important educational agency.”20 The Bible classes were indeed the beginning of modern education in Korea, with all people, including women for the first time, invited to attend, and all given access to books in the Korean vernacular, making education a means to democratic participation. Underwood dreamed of a university to grow leaders for Korean society.

But the obstacles were many. First and foremost was the opposition from the Presbyterian mission, which did not see the need for another college when one was already being planned for Pyongyang. Missionaries in the north insisted on a single college that would support Christian missions only, while Underwood insisted that both educational institutions could exist, with the college in Seoul being “a broader form of work, eventually to become a Christian University touching life on the commercial, agricultural, industrial, professional and cultural as well as religious sides.”21 Although Underwood failed to receive the full support of the Presbyterian mission in Korea, he went ahead with the work, wanting to establish a college not bound to one denomination but reflecting an ecumenism born of a united Christian front.

Another obstacle was resistance to the idea of the college from the Japanese colonial government, which did not look favorably on an institution that would give high level education to Koreans, fostering an intellectual elite. In the end, Underwood had to settle for a charter for a technical school rather than a college. Furthermore, the government granted the charter only on condition that the Christian teaching at the college be limited. Underwood found an unusual solution. Yonhee Technical College (English name: Chosen Christian College) had received permission for six departments: literary, commercial, agricultural, biblical, mathematics and physics, and chemistry. The biblical department was not meant to produce theologians or denominational pastors, but in the many classes run within that department, willing students from all departments were able to learn about Christianity. Also, attendance at Bible classes and chapel was made voluntary, instead of mandatory, enabling a charter to be granted and operations to begin in April 1915, while preserving the college’s Christian character.

With financial support secured from Horace Underwood’s brother John T. Underwood, of Underwood typewriter fame, “a beautiful tract of some two hundred or more acres about three miles from the city was settled upon,”22 and thus before his death Underwood had ensured a fitting home for his grandest vision. So began what is now the foremost Christian university in Korea, with Yonhee Technical College and Severance Hospital joining together to become the institution known today as Yonsei University.

Mission Legacy

Underwood maintained an uncompromising attitude in the face of conflict. He seems to have approached all disputes absolutely convinced of the correctness of his position. History has generally come down on his side, which has added to his mystique as the “First Missionary in Korea.” His early conflicts with Horace Allen and other missionaries, his push for rapid evangelism in the first decade, and even his disputes with American and Japanese officials helped to carve out a position of respect for the Western missionaries and the Korean church which ultimately served as a model of solidarity with the Korean people in their quest for independence.

Underwood is commonly referred to by his nickname “Pul Tongari,” “given to him by his students, meaning “a bundle of fire,” a name that highlights his energy and passion for the mission work in Korea. The other nickname given to him by the same Korean students, “Nulbun Nalgai” (“wide wings”), has largely been ignored.23 Underwood’s approach to Korea is still very relevant to doing missions today, as he sought to heed the call where there was great need, working with unswerving dedication while at the same time opening his wings wide to keep the country and its people always in view. Underwood’s interest was not limited only to Christians or only to the work of his own denomination. He gave time to learning the language and the culture. He saw
the hunger for learning and fed it to spread the Gospel. He was able to customize and apply missionary methods to his unique context. Still, he was not without controversy. He was noted for his stubbornness and obstinacy, unable to work with Allen and sometimes the mission board. 24 Nevertheless, his impact on the modernization of Korea in terms of language, culture, democratization, and education reached immense proportions.

In January 1916 Underwood became ill during a visit to Japan. His health did not improve after his return to Korea, and he traveled to the United States to seek treatment. On the recommendation of his doctor, he went to Atlantic City, New Jersey, to recuperate, the whole time writing letters about the work in Korea and planning a speaking tour. But on October 12, 1916, God called him home. He was laid to rest alongside his father and brother in Grove Church Cemetery, North Bergen, New Jersey. In 1999 his body was taken back to Korea, to be buried at the Yanghwajin Foreigners’ Cemetery in Seoul, alongside his son and grandson who had continued his work in Korea. Their work was a fitting coda to his big vision. To all in Korea who knew and know of him, he is a familiar and dear friend.

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3. Ibid., 34, 35, 36.
5. Lillias H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea, 45.
6. Horace G. Underwood, Call of Korea, 105, 104, 106.
12. Lillias H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea, 63.
16. Horace Grant Underwood Papers, 1:737–43. Underwood founded Christian News, a weekly newspaper in Korean published from 1897 to 1901 that offered practical news and Sunday school lessons to burgeoning Christian communities throughout Korea (see Lillias H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea, 168). He filled in as editor of Korea Review, published in English, during 1905–6; in 1905 he founded Modern Education in Korea, also in English, which continued publication to 1941.
18. Horace G. Underwood, Call of Korea, 100–3.
22. Ibid., 135.
Book Reviews

Early Christianity in Contexts: An Exploration across Cultures and Continents.


As William Tabbernee explains in his introduction, Early Christianity in Contexts differs from many surveys of the early church in that it focuses on the use of material evidence “not only to give information about the origins of Christianity in a given location but also to provide a physical and cultural context for the particular kind of Christianity that existed in that location” (6). To achieve this goal, Tabbernee has mustered the expertise of over a dozen contributors, each specializing in a particular region. The goal of each author is to “present the various Christian communities . . . on their own terms and, as much as possible, with their own voice” (7). Spanning the period from the first Christians through the close of Late Antiquity (ca. 30–ca. 640), chapters first describe a region’s pre-Christian culture, especially its religious background, and then describe the region’s particular kind of Christianity through discussion of its inscriptions, church architecture, and many other artifacts.

These essays enrich the traditional portrait of early Christianity in two major ways. First, their geographic scope is broader and their attention to subregions and cities more detailed than most students of the period will have encountered. No mere survey of “East” and “West,” the book explores locations such as Persia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Axum, and the borders of Roman Britannia, in addition to Roman North Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor. This expanding of the map allows some contributors to challenge the thesis that early Christianity was primarily an urban phenomenon.

Second, while “context” is emphasized in much contemporary scholarship, few have given more than cursory exposure to the role of material culture. Readers may be surprised, for instance, to learn of the significance of burial customs in Georgia and Lower Nubia in discerning the spread of Christianity in those regions. Issues of interpretation are by no means lacking when working with material evidence, as when considering possible Montanist associations of inscriptions throughout Asia Minor. By listing the locations of geographic sees, even texts such as conciliar documents give clues to more than doctrinal disputes. And, of course, the lack of systematic archaeological excavation can greatly hinder knowledge of an area’s Christian history, as in northern Iraq. For those whose study of the early church has been framed mainly by examination of literary evidence, these and many other examples provoke new questions about Christianity’s emergence in specific environments. Each chapter is also supplemented by maps, photographs, and primary-source sidebars.

Tabbernee’s volume will be a vital research companion for scholars of early Christianity at every academic level. Scholars of the history of missions will also discover plentiful material on how the church took root among, and interacted with, an array of cultures—historical data of great contemporary relevance.

—Sarah Patterson White

Sarah Patterson White is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Theological Studies, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

To All Nations from All Nations: A History of the Christian Missionary Movement.


It is widely recognized that the centers of Christianity have shifted southward and that the traditional mission sending centers in Europe and North America are experiencing a general decline. This southward shift was noted by missiological historian Andrew Walls before the turn of the millennium. But how did Christianity arrive in Africa? How did it take root in the Far East? How did it grow in Latin America?

In answer to these questions and others, Carlos Cardoza-Orlandi and Justo González have produced a commendable volume that covers the centrifugal spread of the Christian faith from Jerusalem in the New Testament period right up to today. In discussing the geographic and chronological organization of this advance, the authors highlight the multidirectional nature of mission. Going beyond a traditional (and colonial) reading of mission history, Cardoza-Orlandi and González recount the expansive growth of Christianity by noting the missionary activity that proceeded from the peripheries rather than only from the traditional ecclesial and missionary centers. In contrast with earlier mission historians, Cardoza-Orlandi and González’s approach gives more serious consideration to the cultural and religious context wherein Christianity took root. In locating these peripheral centers of growth, Cardoza-Orlandi and González recognize many martyrs and missionaries who would otherwise have been overlooked and forgotten.

In their clear organization of mission history, Cardoza-Orlandi and González have composed a comprehensive chronicle not only of “the expansion of Christianity but also of the history of its own many conversions—of what the church has learned and discovered as its faith becomes incarnate in various times, places, and cultures” (3). They account for shifts in missionary methods in the various contexts and eras.

In the closing chapter they underscore the urgent need for the church today to recover a truly biblical perspective on mission that addresses the issues pertinent in our various current contexts. Our perspective on mission must involve dissociating ourselves from mission praxes that are wedded with imperialism, consumerism, hedonism, and all other syncretistic distractions that take the focus away from the task that God has given us. Their blend of historical perception, theological
profundity, and missiological perspicuity makes this an outstanding volume, not only for students of mission history, but also for anyone else who is interested in understanding the expansive growth of Christianity.

Cardoza-Orlandi and González’s work gives concrete emphasis to the multidirectional nature of mission. Theirs is a passionate plea: that whatever the direction might be—centripetal or centrifugal, forward or reverse—mission must be supremely what the church is about: fulfilling the Great Commission, bringing Christ “to all nations, from all nations.”

Andrew Peh

Andrew Peh is the dean of students, Trinity Theological College, Singapore, where he teaches in the area of mission. He graduated from E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, and serves as a diaconal minister with the Methodist Church in Singapore.

The Future of Evangelical Theology: Soundings from the Asian American Diaspora.


Although the title of the book may be a bit misleading, since the majority of the “soundings” are about the past and the present rather than the future, Amos Yong has molded several previously published articles into a single volume that raises a number of important issues for evangelicals. Race, language, and culture are at the center of this book, which intends to provoke Asian American evangelicals to see with a new clarity what it means to do theology immersed in one’s own distinctive ethnic heritage. Yong’s work is based on his own personal history, as is his thesis that “Asian American experiences and perspectives have much to contribute to the broader evangelical theological discussion” (27). His argument is rooted in his self-description as a 1.5 generation Asian American pent-evangelical (i.e., “Pentecostal-evangelical”) theologian who hopes to remind evangelicals about the significance of the Day of Pentecost and to encourage them to engage in a reconfiguration of the global evangelical theological conversation so as to heed the particularities of various linguistic, cultural and social dynamics” (27).

North American evangelical and world Christian concerns frame the book and help readers understand how Yong’s own life story has been affected by those realities. He addresses decisions made by his parents and others to embrace an evangelical theology which asserted that new life in Christ meant a complete disassociation from past cultural, racial, linguistic, and ethnic identities—a complete capitulation to a particular idea of Christian identity. Yong claims that Asian American evangelicals have embraced a theological outlook that is dominated by a white American evangelical consensus void of diverse perspectives. Asian American evangelicals have, in fact, unwittingly identified with an evangelical culture that has silenced their distinctive voice. They have also, however, arrived at a pivotal moment. Yong argues that they have a choice “to allow nonethic (read: white) Evangelicals to continue to set the theological agenda that minimizes or marginalizes their perspectives, or to assert why the historicity and particularity of the Asian American history and experience” matters for evangelical theology (97).
Yong’s book will challenge readers to reflect on how ethnic identity and Pentecostal theology can contribute to theological dialogue. He asserts that the New Testament has already answered the important questions regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in the redemption of “languages, cultures and traditions for the glory of God” (32). For many, this book could serve as a clarion call for a radical departure from the status quo—a conscious move to embrace a new multi-cultural hermeneutic and theological discourse liberated from the confines of white American evangelicals but centered in a pneumatology that brings unity to diversity. Yong’s book is vitally important for his perceptive analysis of evangelical theology and for encouraging readers to listen to the diverse theological voices present in world Christianity. Reading Yong should inspire deep reflection on the otherness of being part of world Christianity today.

—Darin D. Lenz

Darin D. Lenz is associate professor of history, Fresno Pacific University, Fresno, California.

Capture These Indians for the Lord: Indians, Methodists, and Oklahomans, 1844–1939.


Tash Smith provides a fresh and rich window into Southern Methodist’s Indian missions as Oklahoma came to statehood at the turn of the twentieth century. A finely researched and nicely crafted book, Capture These Indians for the Lord is one of a growing genre of studies focused on particular Christian denominations and their relationships with the Native communities they sought to “civilize and Christianize.” Smith explores nearly one hundred years of mission history and interaction between Southern Methodist Church leaders and the Oklahoma tribes with whom they were engaged during a time of rapid change. In doing so, he sheds light on the prevailing assimilationist attitudes, growing tensions, and growing inability of the Southern Methodist leadership to mold a Native church in its own image.

Like a number of other similar narratives, Smith’s story reveals a Native people whose social and religious identity, while in flux, enabled them to create “their own religious space” (192) within the confines of imposed church structures and so to accept conversion on their own terms. Dependent on the use of Native translators and pastors, missionaries struggled to retain control over Indian churches where use of Native languages continued to give a certain amount of autonomy to Native congregations. Indian pastors were not only necessary to provide oversight of a growing flock of Native converts but also were able to make Christian conversion a seamless process for their people by connecting biblical principles with “already established Native practices” (67). Drawing on church records, Smith highlights the ministry of Native pastors such as Chocotaw Willis Folsom, who exhorted his people to seasons of deep and personal, even secret, prayer, over which white missionaries had little control. Likewise, protracted camp meetings, encouraged by the missionaries, became a traditional form for community gatherings in which religious meetings played only a part, albeit a substantial part. Folsom and his colleagues were thus able to indigenize Christian faith while providing a “third alternative” (193) to outright acceptance or rejection of Southern Methodism. Following the 1889 land run that led to statehood in 1907, Southern Methodist focus shifted to the white Oklahomans moving by droves into the area. This shift resulted in growing indifference toward and segregation of Indian churches, giving them even greater autonomy. Smith is persuasive in his argument that Native pastors used the structures of the Southern Methodist Church to support their own understanding and practice of Christian faith, creating an enduring legacy of Methodist American Indians.

—Bonnie Sue Lewis

Bonnie Sue Lewis is associate professor of mission and Native American Christianity, University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.


Michael W. Goheen divides Introducing Christian Mission Today into three main sections: (1) biblical theology of missions, (2) historical reflections, and (3) current issues and contemporary developments. Goheen notes in his introduction that the paradigm for mission has shifted from being Western to being global, from political expansion to transformation, and from using the Bible to authenticate a preconceived view of missions to deriving mission from the Bible (15–32). This shift has shaped the writing of this book and informed its consciousness of the global perspective in the domain of missions and mission theology.

In part 1, in a departure from a simply historical discussion of the biblical foundation of missions, Goheen focuses on understanding the Bible itself as a mission story that is universal, centripetal, and eschatological (48). This story is translatable to every context and generation (68–69). Calling attention to the inseparability of the Bible mission story and theology in discussion of missions enables Goheen to provide a robust reflection on the interrelatedness of several theological concerns such as Scripture, eschatology, soteriology, Christology, ecclesiology, and pneumatology. The perspective he offers responds to the challenge of “sacralization and secularization” (81–113).

Regarding mission history, he notes that from Bible times to the present, contexts have always shaped missions. Paradigms he identifies include church, kingdom, enlightenment, ecumenical engagement, and global Christianity. The paradigm of global Christianity is current today, which offers opportunity for Christians all around the world to air their views and to listen to others as well (117–224).

Within current mission issues, Goheen addresses the redefinition of missions in chapter 6, “Holistic Mission: Witness in Life, Word and Deed.” He also notes the centrality of a form of contextualization that in each of the world’s settings is faithful to the Bible and free from ethnocentrism and relativism, as well as from syncretism and irrelevance. Rej ecting the notion of a “trans-cultural theology” that is “universally true for all cultures” (264–94), he affirms the translatability of the Gospel into every culture as something crucial that enables ownership of the faith by all peoples. He raises other issues that require critical attention, including partnerships, holistic ministry, and “supporting national mis-
Don’t Throw the Book at Them: Communicating the Christian Message to People Who Don’t Read.


While often overlooked, Jesus’ strategy for making disciples did not include writing a book or even requiring his followers to read one. Harry Box’s volume takes Jesus’ strategy seriously, providing a valuable introduction to the legitimacy of oral communication systems and the implementation of oral strategies within missions. The author’s contagious enthusiasm permeates his writing; the time has clearly come to leverage oral communication methods for transformation within communities that value the spoken word.

Box’s premise challenges the status quo of many mission strategies: “If we want to communicate the Christian message to people who do not read, then a literacy based strategy is probably not the best way to go” (xiv). His model for reconceptualizing missional communication strategy is none other than Jesus’ own approach. Instead of using a literate method that would have been accessible only to the educated elite, Jesus followed the first-century rabbinic tradition of oral pedagogy. Furthermore, Jesus’ oral communication techniques ensured that everyone could not only learn but also then reteach what was learned (55–56).

Two central motifs emerge. First, oral communication systems are not inferior or merely illustrative for sharing the Gospel. Therefore it follows that, for an oral, event-oriented people group, oral methods resembling their favored communication style will be the most effective for enabling that group to understand the message of salvation. This approach requires that cross-cultural communicators be willing to set aside their typically literate orientations and openly seek to understand and implement “local” oral paradigms and techniques.

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Moses Audi is associate professor of theology and director of academic affairs, Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna, Nigeria. A Nigerian, he has served as a missionary in Nigeria, Ghana, and Mali.
Second, Box argues that oral methods are actually the most effective way to train Christian leaders within oral communities. This view is contrary to the usual Western theological education paradigm, which associates leadership development with formal, literacy-oriented practices. It is worth noting that Box does not ignore the pervasiveness of the printed word but offers insight into literacy’s role among oral communicators.

Interaction with more recent scholarship would strengthen Box’s well-developed thesis. He provides ample case studies regarding the use of oral communication strategies from among diverse people groups, but many of the examples are thirty to forty years old. The growing missiological interest in orality, coupled with emerging academic research, offers numerous sources for bringing his research up to date. Furthermore, engagement with contemporary discussions regarding the utilization of cell phones, social media, and digital technology would prove fruitful for encouraging the adaptation of oral strategies within missions.

—William Coppedge

William Coppedge (World Gospel Mission) utilized oral methodologies for pastoral leadership development in Uganda and South Sudan, 2008–13. He currently is pursuing further research related to orality at the University of St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland.

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**Misional Worship, Worshipful Mission: Gathering as God’s People, Going Out in God’s Name.**


**Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland?**


*Misional Worship* is a helpful and timely new resource on the interconnectedness of worship and mission. Ruth Meyers’s contribution to the growing Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgi
cal Studies series explores the critical relationship connecting corporate public worship to God’s mission, as well as the pursuit of God’s mission to the worship of God. Meyers, dean of academic affairs and Hodges-Haynes Professor of Liturgics at Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley, California, draws effectively on her studies and experience, as well as her leadership of the Episcopal Church’s Standing Commission on Liturgy and Music.

Worship and Culture is a significant new contribution to the ongoing discussion of how the true worship of God takes appropriate expression in varied local church contexts around the world. Nineteen contributors from multiple countries are assembled in this volume edited by Gláucia Vasconcelos Wilkey, a native of Brazil. Wilkey has taught and ministered in Brazil, Canada, and the U.S. Pacific Northwest.

In *Misional Worship* Meyers does excellent work developing the notion that mission and worship are inseparably and integrally related. She states that “worship itself is an important locus of mission, a place and time where the people of God celebrate and participate in God’s self-giving love for the sake of the world” (2). She also emphasizes that mission “is a matter of identity rather than program” (4). The perspective presented urges God’s people at all times, in all places, and with everyone to join with God in his redeeming and restoring Gospel mission that is to be faithfully lived out worshipfully before the face of God. According to Meyers, “The church does not have a mission, but rather God’s mission has a church—that is, the church serves God’s mission” (18). The chapters of the book break out key components of corporate worship—gathering in the name of God; proclaiming and responding to the word of God; praying for the world; enacting reconciliation, celebrating the communion meal, and going forth in the name of Christ—in a way that holds misional worship in the foreground as services of worship are considered. Her passion is to see that “well-crafted worship reflects a gospel vision, an understanding that God is at work in the world” (229).

Wilkey organizes *Worship and Culture* in relationship to the work of the Lutheran World Federation and its three historic statements on worship and culture. Part 1 draws on and revisits the 1993 Cartigny Statement on biblical and historical foundations under the heading “Worship and Culture in Dialogue.” Part 2 draws on and revisits the 1996 Nairobi Statement under the heading “Unity in Cultural Diversity.” Part 3 draws on and revisits the 1998 Chicago Statement under the heading “Baptism, Rites of Passage, and Culture.”

While there are many insightful and helpful essays in this volume, the two essays by Gordon Lathrop—pastor, writer, teacher, and leader in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States and beyond—are extremely helpful. The first one, “Every Foreign Country a Homeland, Every Homeland a Foreign Country: On Worship and Culture,” gives shape to the subtitle of the book. It sets forth a great framework for understanding the other essays. The second one, “Reenvisioning the Shape of the Liturgy: A Framework for Contextualization,” serves as a great summary of much of the work in this volume.

The combination of these two books provides an important foundation for integrating worship and mission today. Missional Worship explores the vital concept that worship and mission must be held together at all times with deeper exploration of how the components of corporate worship form and shape that vision. Worship and Culture then builds on this framework with its in-depth look through varied lenses at how mission advances into the varied places in which the Gospel takes root around the world. The 1996 Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture with its insights into worship that is “transcultural, contextual, counter-cultural, and cross-cultural” ties these two books together extremely well.

—Mark L. Dalbey

Mark L. Dalbey is president and associate professor of applied theology, Covenant Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

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Dr. Longchar is professor and dean for extension and the Doctor of Ministry program of the Senate Centre for Extension and Pastoral Theological Research (SCEPTRE), a division of the Senate of Serampore College (University), Kolkata, India. SCEPTRE was established in 2001 to promote diversified theological education and practice of ministry. A noted researcher of contextualized theology, Dr. Longchar was a joint consultant of ecumenical theological education (2001–07) for the World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia. He is co-editor of Asian Handbook for Theological Education and Ecumenism (2013) and author of Returning to Mother Earth: Christian Witness, Theology, and Theological Education (2012). He is editor of the Programme for Theology and Cultures in Asia (PTCA) series.

Toward an African Church in Mozambique: Kamba Simango and the Protestant Community in Manica and Sofala, 1892–1945.


The fruit of the author’s long career in both church and academia, Toward an African Church in Mozambique is a carefully constructed exploration of the life of the evangelical Protestant community in the Manica and Sofala region of Mozambique. Leon Spencer began this project as an archivist at Talladega College, where he acquired the papers of Fred Bunker, who, beginning in 1891, served in the region under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In these papers, Spencer discovered an extensive correspondence between Bunker and the African men who would be his longtime partners in the work of the church, especially Kamba Simango, a Ndau Christian whose remarkable educational achievements in the United States between 1914 and 1922 brought him into contact with Melville Herskovits and numerous other intellectual notables. In these exchanges, Spencer recognized a unique opportunity to address the paucity of African voices that has existed in far too much of the literature about communities of African Christians birthed out of missionary movements.

The book’s resulting narrative goes a long way toward addressing that lack. Spencer’s gleanings from the Bunker collection have been richly supplemented with numerous other archival collections, including those of the Swiss Mission and the South African General Mission, all meticulously detailed in his many footnotes. Spencer divides the narrative into two sections, the first focused on missionary activity and the second on the work of African Protestants to continue the life of their Christian communities once missionary efforts had largely faltered. Although the two sections generally cover the same span of time, they provide quite distinct perspectives. In the first section we read much, for example, about the intersection of missionary activity with the policies of the colonial Portuguese government, especially after the Salazar regime began promoting its vision of a unified national project in the 1930s, which left little room for English-speaking Protestant missionaries in its colonies. The second section focuses most on the activities of the two African evangelical organizations that emerged in the region as missionary influenced waned, the Associação Evangélica and the Grêmio Negrófilo, on the motives of and tensions among their mostly Ndau leadership, and on the reasons for their eventual dissolution in 1944 at the hands of the Portuguese authorities.

Though Kamba Simango is central to the story, as the title suggests, other lesser known but clearly influential Ndau evangelists also come to the fore, such as Tapera Nkomo and Bede Simango. With each of them, Spencer admirably highlights both their achievements and their limitations as they wrestled with the formation of a Christian community within their own context. In this way, Spencer has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the making of African churches.

—Bill McCoy

Bill McCoy is assistant professor of history, Eastern Nazarene College, Quincy, Massachusetts.


Should context critique text, text critique culture, or both? Contextualization and intercultural communication issues persist as information expands. This is the eighth book in Baker Academic’s Encountering Mission series. Colleagues at Wheaton College and Graduate School, the authors apply academic and practical wisdom to the task of communicating information, especially the Gospel, across cultural thresholds.

Four sections, comprising twenty-four chapters, provide the book’s structure. The introduction parallels the word “Christian” in the subtitle, asserting that humans “are made in the image of the God who reveals ... who has communicated himself to us by revealing himself ... and [we] we are commanded to communicate the message of the good news with others” (1). Without these premises the rest would not make sense in a world arguing for a naturalistic, closed universe and with mounting religious pluralisms that claim to be equally valid in a universalistic world, or so others argue.

Anthropology features strongly in this book, nearly too strongly. At first reading, one may sense an imbalance between blended social sciences and missiology. Balance appears in chapters 18–21. The chapter treating discipleship through local rituals is particularly helpful. Historically, some may have misunderstood indigenous rituals, missing their discipling potential. The authors note this error, commenting that preexisting rituals “may be adaptable to church life, such as rituals for conflict resolution, life transitions, and socialization—in other words, rituals important for discipleship” (275). The term adaptable is subject to the communicator’s contextualization convictions, which brings us to the beginning. More biblical-text dominance in spots, and less context dominance in others, would strengthen the book. Overall, however, it is a strong contender for the text lists of seminaries and graduate schools of world mission.

—Keith E. Eitel

Keith E. Eitel is professor of missions and world Christianity, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, and dean of its Roy Fish School of Evangelism and Missions.

Renewing Christian Theology: Systematics for a Global Christianity.


A recent visit to the exhibition Rembrandt: The Late Works at the National Gallery in London with its visual analysis of biblical themes put me in a receptive mood for this book in which the interaction between the theologian Amos Yong and
the art critic Jonathan Anderson has clearly encouraged a fruitful synthesis: Yong’s renewal theology as viewed through “Anderson’s eyes.” (See the title and perspective offered by Simon Schama in his book, Rembrandt’s Eyes [Knopf, 1999].)

This is a thoughtful and inspirational book. Thoughtful in its alternative way of approaching theology: using a renewal lens to reorder and reassess traditional theological categories and giving priority to the flow of Christian life, where experience precedes analysis. Inspirational in its format: biblical characters are the starting point for theological discussion in each chapter, ranging from John the Baptist through Judas and “Legion” to “Cornelius the Just.” Throughout, Yong seeks to do justice to biblical, theological, and contextual concerns, and Anderson’s work represents a number of important artistic interpolations. The bibliography ranges far and wide over theological themes and includes regional and global perspectives.

Behind the practical layout lies a deeper framework adopted by the author, namely, the statement of faith of the World Assemblies of God. For Yong, this statement of faith “provides a springboard for renewing Christian theology . . . in global context” (27). Yong draws on two realities: the impact of renewal streams on global Christianity, and the role of spirituality and experience in renewal Christianity. By “starting with the Spirit” (15), he thus reverses the usual order of theological categories. From eschatology, he goes on to the gifts and baptism of the Holy Spirit, sanctification, and the sacraments, and then the church, salvation, creation, the Godhead, and the Scriptures.

This framework, “privileging renewal perspectives” (25), lies at the heart of the book. Such a stance often illuminates themes, as in the chapter on communion (which contrasts pneumatological perspectives from renewal theologians with that of Calvin) or in the chapter on the Scriptures (which sheds light on renewal views of hermeneutics). Occasionally, the ordering of themes seems slightly out of kilter. Consideration of Reformed views of cessationism precedes general discussion of the Holy Spirit, and sometimes there seems to be too much stress on renewal themes—such as the focus on *missio Spiritus*, particularly in relation to church—but Yong is consistent in developing his stated emphasis.

Global issues are constantly in mind in both the text and the artistic images, where Anderson’s eclectic choice of visual arts themes and his aesthetic erudition complement the textual theological analyses. As a teacher of contextual theology in arts and mission courses, I was encouraged to find a book that engages theologically with artistic themes. The book aims to present “not only a set of concrete proposals but also an example of theological thinking” (352). Overall, Yong’s project succeeds; it has an open-ended quality that theologians and students alike should find stimulating.

—Warren R. Beattie

Warren R. Beattie is the M.A. program leader and tutor in contextual theology and in arts with mission, All Nations Christian College, Easneye, Hertfordshire, U.K. Previously, he was director for mission research with OMF International in Asia and editor of the journal Mission Round Table.

First the Kingdom of God: Global Voices on Global Mission.


First the Kingdom of God is an impressive collection of sixteen essays by scholars from diverse academic disciplines, confessional backgrounds, and ethnicity. Drawing heavily from the legacy of Peter Kuzmič, the book examines a number of

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Since this kingdom transcends all and the “not yet” of the kingdom of God its mission by reflecting both the “already” and the “not yet” of the kingdom of God (38). Since this kingdom transcends all cultures, its identity is drawn, not from a single cultural center, but from what John Mbiti has called “centres of universality” (57). Because of this interconnectedness, the kingdom of God requires the mutual interdependence of Christians in working together as kingdom citizens. This principle, which was advocated by the apostles like Peter (Miroslav Volf) and Paul (Daniel Darko), needs to be embraced by both Western (Ruth Padilla DeBorst) and non-Western churches (Hwa Yung). Bruce Nicholls and Gregory Mundis go further by exploring the possibility of achieving a “connectedness” with Muslims in Asian and European contexts. The transcendent nature of the kingdom of God also implies the need to bridge the gap between Christian faith and praxis. This bridging needs to be done in terms of everyday life (Corneliu Constantineanu), as well as in specialized contexts such as education (Barry Corey) and cross-cultural witness (René Padilla). To do so requires that we be prepared to face challenges both theological (Scott Hafemann and Christopher Wright) and practical (Ronald Sider). The book concludes with Beth Snodderly’s thoughtful reflection on the victory of the kingdom of God through the Lamb’s submission to the will of the Father.

Kuzmić, notes Darko, “articulated the vision and exemplified the praxis of the kingdom of God as transcending denominational, ethnic, and national interests” (2). This excellent volume certainly reflects that understanding by showing “what the reign of Christ looks like” (Snodderly, 269), highlighting both hermeneutics and practical perspectives.

—Meren Jamir

**China’s Reforming Churches: Mission, Polity, and Ministry in the Next Christendom.**


China’s Reforming Churches, a collection of reports and assessments of the current state of Protestant churches in China, argues that Reformed traditions and Presbyterian polity are increasing in Chinese churches. The articles cover a wide spectrum of interests, ranging from the history of modern China to the phenomenal growth of Chinese Christianity in recent years, and from the development of church polity to the adoption of biblical Presbyterianism in China today. Though we cannot attribute the growth of Christianity solely to Presbyterian or Reformed missions in China, there are indeed links to the work of Reformed traditions in China.

Chinese Christianity has sought ways to survive in its own sociocultural and political context. Of the three types of church polity found in Western Christianity, Presbyterianism, with its rule by elders (vs. Episcopalianism and Congregational-
ism, which emphasize rule by a bishop or by the people), is more compatible with Chinese society, which emphasizes the father figure. Pentecostalism, with its strong, charismatic leader, is likewise particularly in line with Chinese emphasis on the father. It is thus not surprising that Chinese churches have favored Presbyterianism, for the concept of presbyter resembles the role of a father.

Brent Fulton’s quotation of Martin Jacques is very appropriate: “The great task facing the West over the next century will be to make sense of China—not in our terms but in theirs. We have to understand China as it is and as it has been, not project our own history, culture, institutions and values onto it” (99). C. Y. Cheng, a Chinese delegate at the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, made the same point when he said, “Speaking plainly, we hope to see, in the near future, a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions. This may seem somewhat peculiar to some of you, but, friends, do not forget to view us from our stand-point, and if you fail to do that, the Chinese will remain always as a mysterious people to you” (World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910 [1910], 8:195).

China’s Reforming Churches contributes to the study of Chinese Christianity, especially as it addresses the role of biblical Presbyterianism in China’s Reformed churches today. Presbyterianism indeed is a form of Christianity that has great impact on the development of Chinese churches today, but it is only one of the many traditions that Chinese churches are learning from. As the title of this book suggests, Chinese churches are in the process of “reforming,” though of course they are not yet completely “reformed.” We should realize that Reformed Christianity in China will develop in its own ways, consistent with China’s own sociocultural and political contexts.

—Peter Tze Ming Ng

Ubuntu, Migration, and Ministry: Being Human in a Johannesburg Church.


Contemporary research on religion and migration primarily focuses on three topics: the role of religion in immigrant identity and adjustment, the reframing of religious institutions and practices, and religious transnationalism. Amid this landscape, Elina Hankela’s empirical study in social ethics—based on her dissertation research—provides a salient contribution. She explores the meaning of ubuntu in relationships between South African church members and the

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(largely Zimbabwean) refugee ministry population housed in the Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg. She approaches ubuntu (“a person is a person through other persons”) as a moral maxim that is actualized in relationships, a historical process that leads to community transformation. The result is an empirically rich and theoretically insightful account of the actualization of ubuntu encounters in migrant/nonmigrant relationships within a South African urban ministry context.

The book is organized in three sections. In part 1, Hankela describes the Central Methodist Mission and the methodology, theoretical framework, and social location of her research. Part 2 explores the church leader’s vision of ubuntu linked with liberation theology, identifying the corresponding issues of power and management that limit implementation. Part 3 continues to examine the relationship between local church members and refugees, starting with the more exclusionary narratives at the intersection of nationality, ethnicity, and xenophobia, and concluding with more positive encounters. Ultimately, the ubuntu ideal was “barely actualized” in the relationships between church members and refugees; rather, it was hampered by internal and external structures (353). Hankela also demonstrates, however, that facilitated (albeit limited) encounters between members and refugees—particularly among the youth—provide space for actualizing ubuntu.

Themes of agency and power, exclusion and belonging, and identity and boundary recur throughout the book. Although missiologists and mission practitioners have long been concerned with crossing various boundaries (whether of social class, race, ethnicity, gender, generation, or some other sort), Hankela’s book reminds us of the value that using empirical research in social ethics has for exploring the boundaries and bridges that characterize life in a global city. Xenophobia is not unique to Johannesburg, and what it means to be part of the global church in this age of migration requires continued reflection on Christian identity in light of the Christian “other.” Christian migrants are often characterized as objects of mission, as passive and powerless with little to contribute to wider society and the church. Hankela’s portrayal offers a counternarrative that takes seriously the agency and initiatives of African Christians in Johannesburg, migrant and nonmigrant alike. The refugees in this study are not just strangers next door, but fellow Christians who contribute to the creation and limitations of ubuntu. This book will therefore be valuable to scholars interested in ubuntu, African Christianity, and mission and ministry in contexts shaped by migration.

—Allison Norton

Allison Norton is a doctoral student in the School of Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California. She worked at the Pan African Christian University College in Ghana (2004–6) and is a deaconess with the Church of Pentecost.

From Every Tribe and Nation: A Historian’s Discovery of the Global Christian Story.


Mark Noll is a distinguished historian of American religion, and his place in that particular historiography is well known. Lately, though, he has turned his attention to Christian history outside the boundaries of the United States, and so he was a natural selection to write one of the monographs in the series Turning South: Christian Scholars in an Age of World Christianity, published by Baker Academic and edited by Joel Carpenter. The series asks scholars to write autobiographically, and so Noll was asked to write a “personal narrative” explaining how he had come to believe that “full attention to the non-Western world” was needed for any “responsible grasp of the history of Christianity” (xi). What results is an engaging account of an American evangelical scholar’s journey from childhood to mature adulthood, who along the way is rescued by Reformed theology from his Pietistic childhood, is nurtured by outstanding teachers at Wheaton College and Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, finds a professional home in Wheaton College’s History Department, and finally moves to the University of Notre Dame.

Noll describes how he was drawn to such important scholars as David Barrett, David Martin, Daniel Bays, and Philip Jenkins. Most appropriately, the book’s concluding chapter is open ended, with Noll musing about the difficult questions raised by studying Christianity as a world phenomenon, skillfully using some of his Notre Dame students’ research papers as examples.

Who is the audience for this interesting and lively book? Indeed, who is the audience for this whole series? It is not scholars, who know the arguments already. It is not non-Westerners either, unless they are interested in understanding the particular milieu that has informed some Western thinkers. It is not non-Americans, who will be puzzled by the small academic world presented in the first half of the book. It is not even most U.S. Christians, whether they are Catholics or mainline Protestants. The audience is American lay evangelical Christians who trust Baker Books and perhaps have even heard of Mark Noll. To nudge this group toward an encounter with global Christianity is a delicate operation, and Noll nicely finesse the task. One of their own, he never directly challenges their view of the world, but he injects enough dissonant ideas to encourage self-reflection. For the intended audience, this volume has perfect pitch. If you are not a U.S. citizen or a member of the American evangelical tribe, you might still enjoy looking in on this skillful attempt to raise global awareness in the U.S. evangelical Christian subculture.

—A. Cameron Airhart

A. Cameron Airhart is dean of Houghton College Buffalo and is professor of history, Houghton College, Houghton, New York.

The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism.


The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism is a wonderful resource for estab-
lished scholars of Pentecostalism, as well as for novices, for learning about the tensions between the unity and diversity of the Pentecostal tradition. The volume is divided into three main sections—covering historical (three chapters), regional (five chapters), and disciplinary (seven chapters) approaches.

In an insightful introductory chapter, Cecil Robeck and Amos Yong set the stage by illuminating four metathemes of the contested scholarly terrain surrounding global Pentecostalism’s historiography (1–2). First, voices from the United States no longer dominate the writing of Pentecostal history, leading to different interpretations and understandings. Second, greater inclusiveness is given to the term “Pentecostal,” no longer solely defined by baptism in the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues. Third, Pentecostalism has been the focus of other disciplines than simply history—disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and theology. These disciplines involve external observers in analysis of Pentecostalism as well as Pentecostals studying themselves. Fourth, the complexity of the term “Pentecostal” has become so great that no single definition may be possible; one must think of Pentecostal movements with multiple definitions.

These metathemes run throughout the volume and can be seen in the second section of the book—which addresses regional developments within Pentecostalism—particularly in the three chapters on Latin American, African, and Asian Pentecostalism. These three chapters differ from each other, first because of their methodologies: Daniel Ramirez is a cultural historian, Cephas Omenyo is a theologian, and Wonsuk Ma is trained in biblical studies (5). All three scholars, however, deal with theological aspects of Pentecostalism in their respective areas. Ramirez focuses on how labor migration dynamics affect theologies-of-culture discourse. For example, the story of early Mexican Pentecostalism can be rendered in terms of labor migration to the United States—in particular, the return of Mexican labor migrants back to Mexico (122). These transnational flows defined forms of missiology in Mexico (123). Omenyo, among other issues, argues for the inherent “Africanness” of Pentecostalism on that continent. Pentecostalism shares with African traditional society a deepened awareness of warding off Satan, demons, and evil spirits, as well as a focus on healing of spiritual disorders (145–46). Ma’s Asian case study, like that of Omenyo, deals with the indigenous character of Pentecostalism. For example, the Filipino charismatic group El Shaddai exhibits ingenuity in responding to contemporary challenges with openness to indigenous religious resources, where blessed handkerchiefs and tea leaves become instruments of healing (157).

As evidenced by these three chapters from the Global South, Pentecostalism is a complex religious movement, but one that is rapidly expanding. This excellent volume helps us to understand the varied dynamics of this religious movement.

—Adam Mohr

Adam Mohr is a senior lecturer in the Critical Writing Program and the History and Sociology of Science Department at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The Edinburgh Companion to the Bible and the Arts.


The Edinburgh Companion to the Bible and the Arts is a visually engaging book. The front cover design, which is both “highly traditional and pleasantly quirky” (5), immediately captures the imagination and hints at the treasures in store, not least of which are the figures and plates interspersed throughout the text for reference and illustration. The central question posed in the book is not new but is one that continues to be asked: “What is—what should be—the relationship between human creativity and the experience of the divine, the arts and the Word of God?” (11). This volume is a valuable resource for those wrestling with that question today.

This collection of essays “arranged thematically and as far as is practicable along historical lines” (5)—treating topics as diverse as Augustine on beauty, the decorated pages of medieval Bibles and Qurans, the Bible in nineteenth-century stained glass, and the Bible interpreted by hymns—provides fascinating insights from history and merits careful consideration in light of the renewed and exciting interest in the arts in church and mission today.

Stephen Prickett’s introduction is essential reading before launching into the articles. At the outset he cautions that “over-familiarity with such words as the ‘Bible’ and the ‘Arts’ can easily lead to over-simplistic thinking about both” (1). Referring to the “bad name” often linked to religious art, he points out that “bad aesthetics is so often the product of bad theology and vice versa” (5). Both of these themes are considered in many of the essays. While there are essays on the Psalms (for example, “The Case of the Psalms and George Herbert”) and on hymnody (“The Sacred Poetry of Watts and Wesley”), sadly, there are no essays on music because, according to the editor, “music is not best conveyed by words on the printed page” (7). It is truly disappointing that one of the most significant of art forms, one that has been central to Christian worship throughout the ages, is missing.

Whether pondering the chapter “The Gospel of John in Early Christian Art” and why Jesus is so often portrayed as a miracle worker and healer or looking at the architectural design for the rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral as a symbol of a nation’s faith after World War II, I found this unique collection of essays to be worthy of the time invested in study and reflection and recommend it to scholars, patrons, and practitioners today for whom the Bible and the arts are enduring passions.

—Elizabeth W. McGregor

Elizabeth W. McGregor is the postgraduate scholar care coordinator for the Langham Partnership (U.K.) and a missionary with SIM International.

The Gospel in Culture: Contextualization Issues through Asian Eyes.


Most studies in contextualization have come out of the Western/Northern church, but Melba Maggay addresses this topic from a Filipino perspective. She is an award-winning writer and social anthropologist, current president of the Institute for Studies in Asian Church and Culture (ISACC), and personally involved in development and advocacy for the poor. In this excellent volume she brings together twelve other authors in
a multidisciplinary study of contextualization, with topics ranging from making the message of the Gospel understandable to the intended audience, to relating biblical truths to cultural symbols, and relating Christian rituals to other religious ceremonies.

The book is divided into three parts: “Christianity in Culture,” five essays that examine some of the ways that mission and church leaders have understood contextualization in the past; “The Text in Context,” four essays that explore the hermeneutical aspects of contextualization; and “The Gospel in Context,” five essays about the communication of the Gospel in a pluralized society. The third section is by far the most practical, examining present-day issues encountered in contextualizing the message of the Gospel, with particular focus on challenges that confront the Philippine church.

In the first part, Maggay’s essay examines contextualization done by the church in a Western context and then focuses on the work of the early missionaries in the Philippines, pointing to specific cognitive differences that need to be recognized (e.g., orality versus linearity). Timoteo Gener studies the missional insights that can be seen in the apostle Paul’s efforts to spread the Gospel among the Gentiles of his day. Athena Gorospe presents a detailed examination of the life, philosophy, hermeneutic, and theology of Origen. The other two essays in this section investigate the historical view of spiritual warfare and the treatment of the humanity of Christ in the Philippines.

The essays in the second part deal more specifically with issues involved in conveying the Scriptures meaningfully. In the third part, contributors discuss the challenge of contextualizing the message within the context of the present-day pluralistic society of the Philippines, that is, confronting cultures that venerate ancestors (David Lim), communicating the Gospel to ethnic minorities (Mona Bias), or working with the Chinese people in the Philippines (Amanda Shao Tan).

Given the subtitle of the book, I was somewhat disappointed to discover that all the essays addressed contextualization issues within the Filipino context, rather than in the broader Asian context. While not particularly suitable for use as a course textbook, the book will definitely be helpful to anyone planning to be involved in church or missions in the Philippines. At the same time, the authors give readers a fresh perspective on the challenges of contextualization, presenting ideas of value to anyone working in a cross-cultural milieu.

—Penelope R. Hall

Penelope R. Hall, a Canadian, serves as a consultant for theological studies and theological libraries in the Majority World.

Dissertation Notices

Dornan, Geoffrey James.

To search OMSC’s free online database of 6,300 dissertations in English, compiled in cooperation with Yale Divinity School Library, go to www.internationalbulletin.org/resources.

Enyinnia, Romanus.

Jamir, Nungshitula.
“Reimagining the Cross of Childbearing: Toward a Naga Constructive Christology of Natality.”

Jang, Sekwang.
“A Study of the Co-relationship between Church Growth and Prayer.”

Joseph, P. V.
“Towards an Indian Trinitarian Theology of Missio Dei: A Study of the Trinitarian Theologies of St. Augustine and Brahmacandhab Upadhyay.”

Jung, Ki Yang.
“Urban Mission Strategy Based on Baguio City Mission.”

Kalarickal Sebastian, Shiju.
“Quest for an Indian Christianity: A Study Based on the Life and Works of Brahmacandhab Upadhyay.”

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Marchis, Vasile.
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Park, Yongbum.
“Donghak and Sacramental Commons: Eastern Learning, Creation Consciousness, and Korean Socioecological Ethics.”

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Dr. Elmer Lavastida Alfonso, Second Baptist Church, Santiago de Cuba, Cuba, considers how, since 1900, Cuba, Jamaica, and other nearby islands have encountered Protestant missions.

CHURCH, MISSION, AND LAND: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH
Dr. Michael Rynkiewich, Asbury Theological Seminary, analyzes how issues over land, water, and food in different cultural settings have arisen throughout Christian mission history.

COMMUNICATING CHRIST IN BUDDHIST CONTEXTS
Dr. Paul De Neui, North Park Theological Seminary, explores the missiological implications of contextualized holistic ministries within Buddhist cultural contexts.

CULTURE, VALUES, AND WORLDVIEW: ANTHROPOLOGY FOR MISSION PRACTICE
Dr. Darrell Whiteman, formerly of The Mission Society, shows how one’s worldview and theology of culture affect cross-cultural mission.

DIASPORA AND THE BIBLE: MIGRATION AND MISSION
Dr. M. Daniel Carroll R. (Rodas), Denver Seminary, interrelates diaspora themes and mission themes throughout the Scriptures as well as in our contemporary settings.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND KOREA, NORTH AND SOUTH
Rev. Ben Torrey, The Fourth River Project and Jesus Abbey, Taebaek, Kangwon Do, South Korea, examines the impact of four generations of his family in Korea, beginning with evangelist R. A. Torrey’s sowing of seeds for revival.

THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH IN MISSION—THEN AND NOW
Dr. Kyu Sam Han, Chodae Community Church, Norwood, New Jersey, instructs churches today regarding carrying out their mission practices in accordance with New Testament examples and teachings.

SERVANT MISSION IN A TROUBLED WORLD
Dr. Jonathan J. Bonk, OMSC executive director emeritus, examines theological, ethical, and missiological implications of political violence, human dislocation, economic inequity, and religious ideology as contexts for Christian life and witness.

THEOLOGICAL FORMATION FOR INTEGRAL MISSION
Ms. Ruth Padilla DeBorst, OMSC senior mission scholar, International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, San José, Costa Rica, examines the missional value of contextual theological practice that integrates faith with all of life.

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Bagge, Sverre.
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Witchcraft and the Rise of the First Confucian Empire.

Cooper, Frederick.
Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State.

Harrison, Henrietta.
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Mong, Anbrose.
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Osterhammel, Jürgen. Translated by Patrick Camiller.

Waheli, Daniel.
Lessons Learned in the Lion’s Den: Imprisoned for Sharing Jesus.

Wall, Molly, ed.

Wilson, Robert William Keith.
George Augustus Selwyn (1809–1878): Theological Formation, Life, and Work.